# LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN KASHMIRI

BY OMKAR N. KOUL

SERIES IN INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS —IX

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**Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri**

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## Preface

With an increasing interest for learning Kashmiri by non-native speakers, there is an urgent need for the preparation of instructional materials in this language. Some efforts have already been made in this direction. Recently some pedagogically oriented materials in Kashmiri have been prepared by Professor Braj B. Kachru at the University of Illinois. His pablications include *A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri* and *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri*. The Central Institute of Indian Languages has produced a *Kashmiri Phonetic Reader, Hindi-Kashmiri Common Vocabulary Intensive, Intermediate*, and *Advanced* Courses in Kashmiri. These materials are being used for teaching Kashmiri as a second language at the Northern Regional Language Centre, Patiala.

The Kashmiri language has not yet been studied in detail. There is a vast scope for linguistic studies in this language. The current book *Linguistic Studies in Kashmiri* presents description of some aspects of the Kashmiri language. Most of these studies have emerged out of notes prepared for teaching Kashmiri to non-native speakers. This book includes chapters on The Noun Phrsse, The Adjective Phrase, The Auxiliary, The Verb Phrase, Questions, Coordinate Conjunction, Reduplication, Kinship Terms and Lexical Borrowings. The chapters on The Noun Phrase and Questions are based on two articles published earlier by the author. The materials presented in this book are pedagogically oriented. It is hoped that the book will prove helpful to not-native speakers in understanding certain syntactic and other aspects of the Kashmiri language. The book also may be used by teachers of Kashmiri in developing instructional materials for teaching the Kashmiri language to non-native speakers.

It it beyond the scope of this book to provide exhaustive description of the topics discussed in it. Keeping in view the aim

of the book, an attempt has been made to provide descriptions of different aspects of the Kashmiri language in as simple words as possible, and minute theoretical details have been avoided. All the aspects of the Kashmiri language discussed in this book need an elaborate investigation. It is hoped that present descriptions in the form of preliminary remarks will initiate serious linguistic research work on these aspects in the future.

I am grateful to Professors Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and Girdhari L. Tikku of the University of Illinois for their encouragement, help ane guidance during my period of stay at the University of Illinois.

I owe special gratitude to Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, Director, Central Institute of Indian Languages for his encouragement and guidance which has enabled me to bring out this book in its present form. I would like to thank Mr. Charles J. Hall for his useful comments on certain portions of this book.

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September 5, 1977

## Transliteration

The Roman transliteration used in this book for the speech sounds in Kashmiri is as follows :

| Vowels | Front Unrounded | Central Unrounded | Back Rounded |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | i: | ɨ, ɨ: | u: |
| Lower High | i | | u |
| Mid | e, e: | ə, ə: | o |
| Lower Mid | | a | o: |
| Low | | a: | ɔ |

N Following a vowel indicates nasalization of vowel. e.g., da:Nd ‘bull’ vu:Nth ‘camel’

: Following a vowel indicates that the vowel is long. e.g., gu:r ‘milkman’, mo:r ‘peacock’

Consonants

| | Bilabial | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palato-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Stops* | | | | | | | | |
| Voiceless unaspirated | p | t | | T | | | k | |
| Voiceless aspirated | ph | th | | Th | | | kh | |
| Voiced unaspirated | b | d | | D | | | g | |
| *Affricates* | | | | | | | | |
| Voiceless unaspirated | | ts | | | c | | | |
| Voiceless aspirated | | tsh | | | ch | | | |
| Voiced unaspirated | | | | | j | | | |
| *Nesals* | m | | n | | | | | |
| *Fricatives* | | | | | | | | |
| Voiceless | | s | | | | sh | | h |
| Voiced | | z | | | | | | |
| *Lateral* | | | l | | | | | |
| *Trill* | | | r | | | | | |
| *Flap* | | | | R | | | | |
| *Semi-Vowels* | v | | | | | y | | |

’ Following a consonant indicates palatalization of the consonant. e. g., g’avun ‘to sing, n’un ‘to take’ etc.

## Abbreviations and Symbols

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Adj | Adjective | N | Noun |
| Adv | Adverb | NP | Noun Phrase |
| Aux | Auxiliary | non-hon | Non-honorific |
| CV | Copula Verb | Pa | Past |
| Comp V | Compound Verb | Per | Person |
| Cond | Conditional | Pl/p | Plural |
| Conj V | Conjunct Verb | Perf | Perfect |
| Fem | Feminine | Pres | Present |
| Fu | Future | Prog | progressive |
| hon | Honorific | Sg/s | Singular |
| Imper | Imperfect | T | Tense |
| Int | Intransitive | Tr | Transitive |
| M | Modal | V | Verb |
| Mas/m | Masculine | VP | Verb Phrase |
| MV | Main Verb | | |

/ / Phonemic transcription

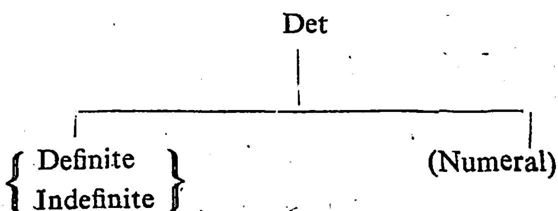
* Precedes ungrammatical and unacceptable expressions

# Contents

# 1
# The Noun Phrase

1.0. The Noun Phrase in Kashmiri may consist of three constituents : Determiner, Noun, and Number.

1.1 The Determiner elements may be classified as Definite, Indefinite or Numeral :




Definite determiners include the specified demonstratives, possessive nouns and possessive pronouns.

There is a three term distinction in the demonstratives in Kashmiri e.g., (1) proximate, (2) remote (within sight) and (3) remote (out of sight). Following is the chart of demonstratives in Kashmiri :

| | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Proximate | yi 'this' | yim 'these' | yi | yimɨ |
| Remote (within sight) | hu 'that' | hum 'those' | hɔ | humɨ |
| Remote (out of sight) | su 'that' | tim 'those' | sɔ | timɨ |

Possessive Nouns are formed by adding possessive suffixes to the nouns agreeing in number and gender with object. If the subject noun is an animate human being, following are the suffixes added to it :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| —un | —*i*n' | —*i*n' | —*i*ni |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ra:mun necuv | Ram's son | ra:m*i*n' ku:r | Ram's daughter |
| ra:m*i*n' neciv | Ram's sons | ra:m*i*ni ko:ri | Ram's daughters |

In case, the subject noun is inanimate, following are the suffixes added to it :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| —uk | —*i*k' | —*i*c | —*i*ci |

| | |
|---|---|
| maka:nuk mə:likh | The owner of the house |
| maka:n*i*k' mə:likh | The owners of the house |
| maka:n*i*c də:r | The window of the house |
| maka:n*i*ci da:ri | The windows of the house |

Besides the two types of suffixes, forms of **hund** and **sund** are also used as genitive markers. If the masculine singular subject noun is animate and it ends in the vowel *i* or palatalized consonant, the following forms of **sund** are used with the subject noun agreeing in number and gender with the object :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| sund | s*i*nd' | s*i*nz | s*i*nz*i* |

| | |
|---|---|
| ləʀk*i* sund gar*i* | The house of the boy |
| ləʀk*i* s*i*nd' do:s | The friends of the boy |
| mə:l' s*i*nz gər | The watch of the father |
| bə:y s*i*nz*i* kita:b*i* | The books of the brother |

If the subject noun is animate/inanimate feminine singular or if the subject is masculine/feminine plural (ending in—**an**) the following forms of **hund** are used as suffixes :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| hund | h*i*nd' | h*i*nz | h*i*nz*i* |

| | |
|---|---|
| ko:ri hund bu:Th | Shoes of the girl |
| ko:ri hɨnd' palav | Clothes of the girl |
| ko:ri hɨnz dəj | The handkerchief of the girl |
| ko:ri hɨnzɨ sa:Ri | The saris of the girl |
| maka:nan hund mə:likh | The owner of the houses |

Possessive pronouns agree with the object in number, gender and person and with subject in number. Following is the chart of the possessive pronouns in Kashmiri :

| | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| 1 Per (Sg.) | m'o:n | me:n' | me:n' | m'a:ni |
| (Pl.) | so:n | sə:n' | sə:n' | sa:ni |
| 2 per (Sg.) | co:n | cə:n' | cə:n' | ca:ni |
| (Pl.) | tuhund | tuhɨnd' | tuhɨnd' | tuhɨnzɨ |
| 3 Per (Sg.) | təm'sund | təm'sɨnd' | təm'sɨnz | təm'sɨnzɨ |
| (Pl.) | timanhund | timanhɨnd' | timanhɨnz | timanhɨnzɨ |
| (Sg.) | huhund | huhɨnd' | huhɨnz | huhɨnzɨ |
| (Pl.) | humanhund | humanhɨnd' | humanhɨnz | humánhɨnzɨ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| m'o:n kalam | My pen | so:n garɨ | Our home |
| me:n' sandu:kh | My boxes | sə:n' maka:nɨ | Our houses |
| me:n' gər | My watch | sə:n' ga:v | Our cow |
| m'a:ni gari | My watches | sa:ni shaklɨ | Our pictures |

The Indefinite determiners in Kashmiri are **akh** 'a,' **keNh** 'a few' **kaNh** 'any' etc.

| | |
|---|---|
| akh shur o:s asa:n | A child was laughing |
| keNh ləRkɨ ə:s' sho:r kara:n | A few boys were making noise |
| kaNh kita:b an | Bring any book |

Numeral in Kashmiri may be divided into different categories. Numerals may be divided into approximate, ordinals, multiplicatives, fractional, collectives, and measure as follows:

Numeral

({Approximate, Ordinal}) ({Cardinal, Multiplicative, Fractional}) ({Collective, Measure})

The examples of approximates are **lagbag** 'about,' **kəri:b** 'almost', **phakath** 'only', etc. Ordinals are **gɔDin'uk** 'first,' **doyim** 'second', **treyim** 'third' **tsu:rim** 'fourth', etc. The examples of fractionals are **ɔD** 'half', **treyimhis*i*** 'one third', **tsu:rimhis*i*** ' ne fourth' etc. Collectives are **ju:r'** 'pair,' **darjan** 'dozen' etc. Measures are **kilo** 'kilograms', **ɔD kilo** 'half a kilo', etc.

Following are the possible combinations of the constituents of Determiner:

(a) Definite+Ordinal+N
gɔD*i*n'uk shur — The first child

(b) Definite+Cardinal+N
hum pa:Ntsh mar*i*d — Those five men

(c) Definite+Ordinal+Cardinal+N
yim gɔD*i*nik' z*i* shur' — These first two children

(d) Definite+Cardinal+Collective
yim tre darjan Thu:l — These three dozen eggs

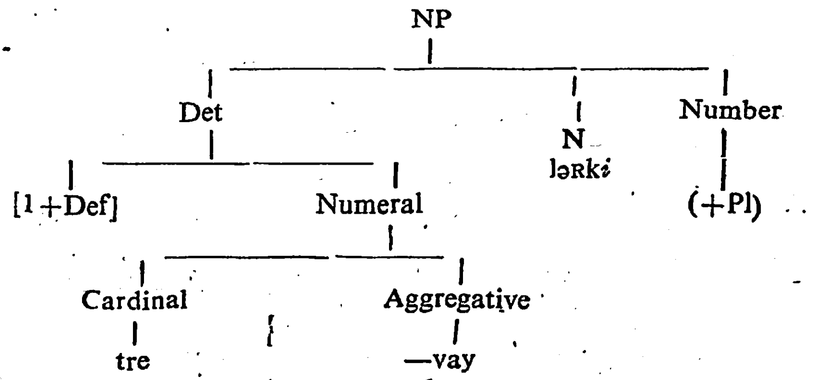
(e) Definite+Cardinal+Measure
hum z*i* kilo : tomul — Those two kilograms of rice

The numerical forms such as **dɔsh*i*vay** 'both' **tresh*i*vay** 'all the three' **tsɔsh*i*vay** 'all the four', **pa:Nts*i*vay** 'all the five' etc. are formed by adding certain aggregative elements to the cardinals, which undergo certain phonological changes. Following are the sentences with definite determiner and the derived numerical forms:

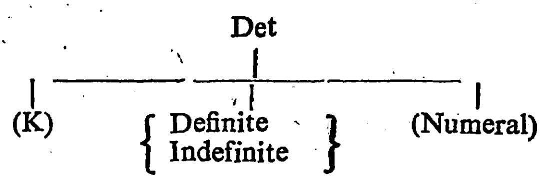
tresh*i*vay ləRk*i* chi prən' — All the three boys are fair complexioned

pa:Nts*i*vay ko:ri chi sɔndar — All the five girls are pretty

The Structure of these examples is as follows :




By certain phonological rules we get **treshɨvay ləʀkɨ.** Determiner may include question elements. Here the question element will be represented by ᴋ. The Determiner may now be constituted as:




The examples of the NP which contains a question element are :

| | |
|---|---|
| kus (h'uv) kul | Which tree |
| kɔs (hish) ku:r | Which girl |
| ku:t/ko:tah tomul | How much rice |
| kə:tsa: zana:nɨ | How many women |

It is the combination of the question element (ᴋ) with other elements of NP which formulates the qnestion morphemes, such as **kus, hɔs, ku:t**, etc.

Following are the question morphemes which agree with the noun in number and gender :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| kus | kam | kɔs | kam |
| kus shur | Which child | kɔs ku:r | Which girl |
| kus kul | Which tree | kamɨ ko:ri | Which girls |
| kam shur' | Which children | | |

These question particles are followed by the following elements which represent the definiteness :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl, | Sg. | Pl. |
| h'uv | hiv' | hish | hishi |
| kus h'uv | Which one | kɔs hish | Which one |
| kam hiv' | Which ones | kami hishi | Which ones |

Question particles which denote the measurement are as follows :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| ko :tah | kə:t'ah | ki:tsah | kə:tsah |
| ku:t | ki:t' | ki:ts | ki:tsi |

ku:t/ko:tah tomul — How much rice
ki:t'/kə:t'ah ləRki — How many boys
ki:ts/ki:tsah kə:m — How much work
ki:tsi/kə:tsah ko:ri — How many girls

Masculine and feminine singular forms are used only with uncountable mass nouns according to an appropriate gender of the noun.

Question particles which denote the quality of the nouns are as follows :

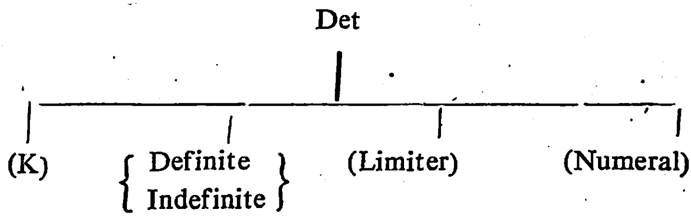
| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| k'uth | kith' | kitsh | kitshi |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| k'uth tomul | What kind of rice | kitsh ku:r | What type of a girl |
| kith' ləRki | What type of boys | kitshi ko:ri | What type of girls. |

Note that these question particles can be used for specifying the colour, quality, category etc.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| k'uth rang | Which colour | kitsh kəmi:z | Which shirt |
| kith' palav | Which clothes | kitshi da:ri | Which dolls |

The Determiner may also contain limiter expression and on that basis the Determiner may be expanded as :



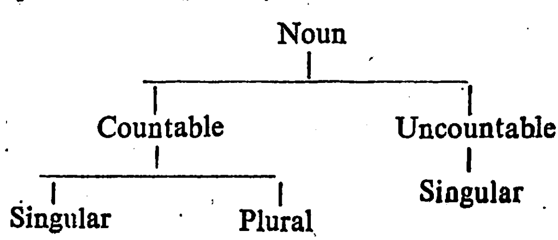

The following limiters are used in Kashmiri: **phakath/khə:li:/ siriph** 'only', (yutuy) **yo:t** 'only this' **yemi bagə:r ti** 'besides this', **ti** 'also'

| | |
|---|---|
| me ən' phakath/khə:li:/ siriph *zi* Thu:l | I brought two eggs only |
| me chu yutuy yo:t | I have this much only |
| ra:m*i*y yo:t yiyi pagah | Only Rama will come tomorrow |
| mohan*i* ti va:ti yot az | Mohan will also reach here today |

It is to be noted that many nouns including most proper nouns do not occur with the Determiner. In these cases the Determiner is null or zero. In the structure of NPs either we can mark the Determiner as optional or specify it by a null value in such cases.

| | |
|---|---|
| ra:man pari yim*i* kita:b*i* | Rama read these books |
| ra:man pari ϕ kita:b*i* | Ram read books |

**1.2. Noun and Number Co-occurence**: Nouns can be divided into two groups: countable and uncountable nouns. Countable nouns always occur with number. There are two numbers in kashmiri: singular and plural. Thus the countable nouns may either be singular or plural. Uncountable nouns are used in the form of singular although they are not singular in meaning. This can be represented graphically as :



The following sentences with countable nouns are grammatical :

| | |
|---|---|
| *zi* maka:n chi yeti | There are two houses here |
| *zi* ləRki dra:yi | Two boys left |
| ts*i* kar *zi* ka:mi | You do two jobs |

The following sentences with countable nouns are not grammatical :

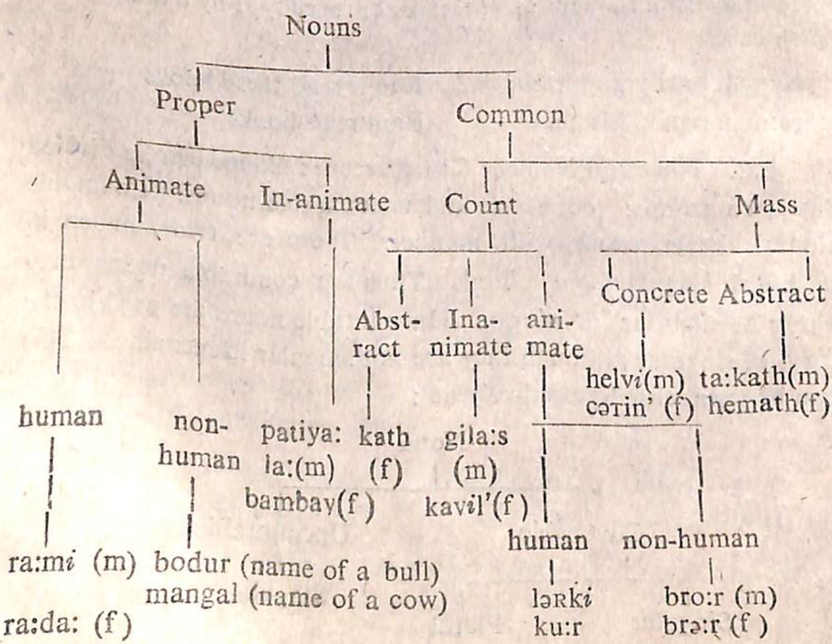
| | |
|---|---|
| * *zi* dɔd an | * Bring two milk |
| * tse chiy n*i* *zi* ta:kath | * You donot have two strength |
| * təmis chan*i* *zi* h'amath | He does not have two courages |

Although the following sentences are grammatical :

| | |
|---|---|
| *zi* kilo dɔ̃d an | Bring two kilos of milk |
| tse chuy n*i* k eN ta:kath | You do not have any strength |
| təmis chan*i* kaNh hemath | He does not have any courage |

Under the category of uncountable nouns fall different types of liquids, things that occur in particles, some types of concrete and abstract nouns etc. For example: **po:n'** 'water' **hava:** 'wind' **gar*i*d** 'dust', **mets**, 'clay', **sekh** 'sand' sReshtir 'iron', **hemath** 'courage', **ta:kath** 'strength'. It is incorrect to say **akh po:n'** 'one water' *zi* **po:n'** 'two waters,' for these.

**1.3. The Co-occurence of Nouns with Verbs**: There are strong semantic ties that bind the subject and object and nouns with verbs. Regarding the Co-occurence of subject and object nouns with verbs in Kashmiri, it is important to mention certain features of nouns as under :



All Nouns are either masculine or feminine, the examples are given in the diagram above The Noun-features for both the genders remain same. These features are important in specifying the co-occurrence restrictions between the Nouns and Verbs etc. The examples of co-occurrence restrictions between Determiners and Nouns have already been discussed above.

It is to be mentioned here that the count nouns are inflected for number but the mass nouns are not inflected for number. The following are grammatical sentences in Kashmiri :

| | |
|---|---|
| shur gav sku:l | The child went to school |
| shur' gəyi sku:l | The children went to school |
| ku:r a:yi va:pas | The girl came back |
| ko:ri a:yi va:pas | The girls came back |
| yi kəth cha ja:n | This story is good |
| yimi kathi chi ja:n | These stories are good |
| tha:l p'a:v pathar | The palate fell down |
| tha:l peyi pathar | The palates fell down |

The mass nouns are always used as singular items and the agreement is between the Verb and Noun in gender. For example :

| | |
|---|---|
| thən' chi ja:n | The butter is good |
| tsa:man peyi pather | The cheese fell down |
| hemath gatshi karin'. | One should display his courage |
| sehath chu dan davlath | Health is wealth |

If the mass nouns are used in plural form, the results will be illformed sentences :

For example :

| | |
|---|---|
| * thani chi ja:n | * hemati gatshan karni |
| * tsa:mini peyi pathar | * sehath chi dan davlath |

**1.4. Noun Modification :** Besides definite/indefinite demonstratives and numerals, Nouns in Kashmiri may be modified by

genitive phrases, adjectives, adverbs etc. We have discussed definite and indefinite damonstratives, certain possessive pronouns and numerals (ordinal and cardinal) under Determiners. In this section, we will briefly discuss some adjectives, adverbs and relative clauses which modify the nouns in Kashmiri.

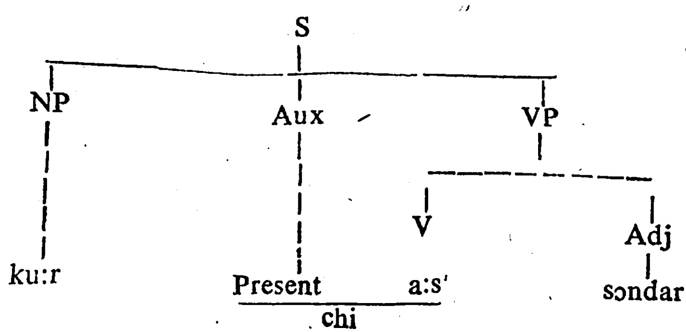
A noun may be preceded by an adjective as in the following sentences :

| | |
|---|---|
| sɔndar ku:r chi para:n kita:b | The beautiful girl is reading a book |
| ra:man h'ot akh ləkuT me:z | Rama purchased a small table |
| me ən' krɨhin' kəmi:z | I brought a black shirt |

In these examples, although the Adjectives occur in prenominal position, but in deep structure, Adjectives+Nouns are related to the Copula sentences in Kashmiri. For instance, the deep structure of the Adj+N **sɔndar ku:r** 'The beautiful girl'in the sentence **sɔndar hu:r chi para:n** is as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| sɔndar ku:r⟶ | ku:r chi sɔndar |
| The beautiful girl | The girl is beautiful |

Which is a copula sentence in Kashmiri. The structure of this sentence is as follows :




→ku:r chi sɔndar

→sɔndar ku:r

Similarly, other Adj+N phrases in the examples given above

are derived from the following copula sentences :

| | |
|---|---|
| lɔkuᴛ me:z → | me:z chu lɔkuᴛ |
| The small table | The table is small |
| krɨhɨn' kəmi:z → | kəmi:z chi krɨhɨn' |
| The black shirt | The shirt is black |

In these cases, we have seen that the Adj+N phrases are derived from complete underlying sentences.

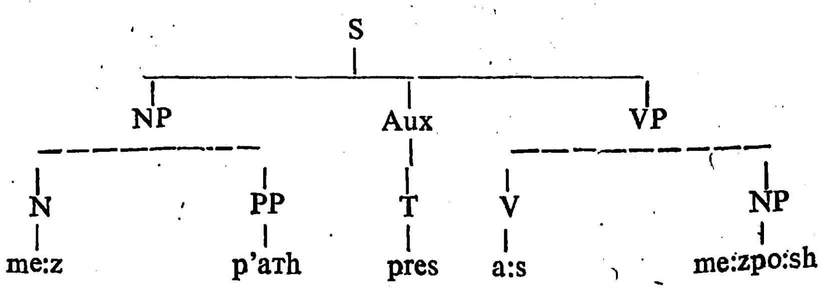
Similarly, in the following sentences, certain adverbs modify the nouns :

| | |
|---|---|
| me:zɨ p'aᴛhûk me:zposh chunɨ sa:ph | The table cloth on the table is not clean |
| darva:zas nishi p'o:mut khɔrba:nɨ chu tsh'onɨmut | The shoes lying near the door are worn out |

In these examples, the adverbs of place which modify the nouns are actually derived from sentences in the deep structure. e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| me:zɨ p'aᴛhuk me:zp:sh | Table cloth (spread) on the table |
| me:zas p'aᴛh chu me:zpo:sh | There is a table cloth on the table |
| darva:zas nishi p'omut khɔrba:nɨ | The shoes lying near the door |
| darava:zas nishi chu khɔrba:nɨ p'omut | A pair of shoes is lying near the door |

Thus the underlying deep structure of the Adverb of place in the sentence **mə:zas p'aᴛh chu me:zpo:sh** can be diagrammed as under :




Consider the following sentences with relative clauses :

A. yi ku:r, yɔs sku:l gatsha:n chi, chi s'aᴛha: sɔndar
This girl, who goes to school, is very pretty

B. mo':n do:s, yus dili chu ró:za:n, yiyi yo:r az
My friend, who lives in Delhi, will come here today

C. hu ᴅa:kᴛar, yus yath haspata:las manz chu no:kri: kara:n, chu s'aᴛha: kə:bil. That doctor, who works in this hospital, is very efficient.

These sentences are derived from the following pairs of sentences in the deep structure :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. | yi ku:r chi s'aᴛha: səndar | This girl is very pretty |
| | yi ku:r chi sku:l gatsha:n | This girl goes to (her)school |
| B. | m'o:n do:s yiyi yo:r az | My friend will come here today |
| | m'o:n do:s chu dili ro:za:n | My friend lives in Delhi |
| C. | hu ᴅa:kᴛar chu s'aᴛha: kə:bil | That doctor is very efficient |
| | hu ᴅa:kᴛar chu yath haspata:las manz kə:m kara:n | That doctor is working in this hospital |

There is no upper limit on the number of times a noun can be modified. For example the sentence :

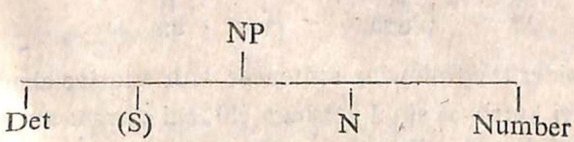
səndar tɨ java:n ku:r yəs yo:r ə:s a:mɨts gəyi dili

The beautiful and young girl who had come here went to Delhi contains four assertions about the girl :

| | |
|---|---|
| ku:r chi səndar | The girl is beautiful |
| ku:r chi java:n | The girl is young |
| ku:r ə:s yo:r a:mɨts | The girl had come here |
| ku:r gəyi dili | The girl went to Delhi |

There is one restriction on the underlying assertion that it must contain the noun which is being modified.

These data motivate the expansion of the noun phrase. Since the modifiers in the examples cited above are derived from underlying sentences, it is important to expand the noun phrase as under :




The modification is optional.

# The Adjective Phrase

2. 0. Adjectives are the main constituents of Adjective phrases. It is important to make a distinction between the base Adjectives and derived Adjectives. Base Adjectives are not derived from any other grammatical category and therefore do not contain any derivational affixes. Examples are given below :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | ləRkɨ chu MOT | The boy is fat |
| 2. | ku:r cha thəz | The girl is tall |
| 3. | yi zana:n cha khu:bsu:rath | This woman is beautiful |

The derived Adjectives, on the other hand, are derivationally related to any other grammatical category such as Noun or Verb. The derived Adjectives may be classified under different types. Examples are given below :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r | The shopkeeper who sells books |
| 5. | yath sku:las manz paranvo:l ləRkɨ | The boy studying in this school |
| 6. | yath pa:ri manz ro:zan va:jen' zana:n | The woman living in this hut |
| 7. | phɔlɨvɨn' gula:b | The blooming roses |
| 8. | vadɨvɨn' shur' | The crying children |
| 9. | parɨvun le:khɨvun leRkɨ | The boy who studies |
| 10. | hotɨmut tsu:NTh | The rotten apple |
| 11. | phuTɨmut ba:nɨ | The broken vessel |

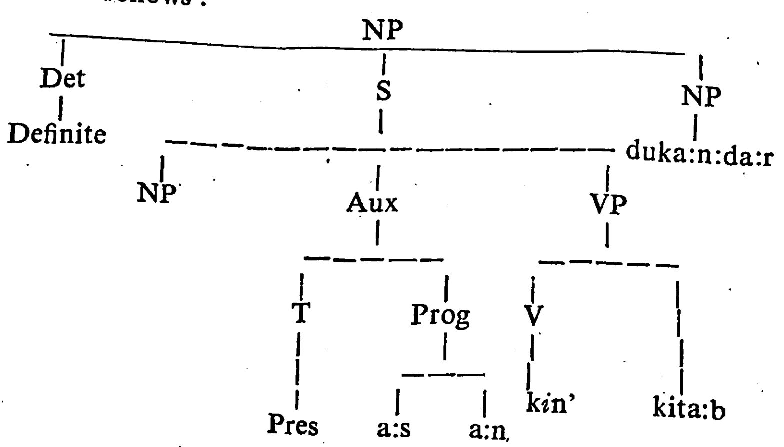
The derived Adjectives (4-11) are grammatically related to the verb phrases in the sentences (4A-11A) respectively given below and may be derived from them :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 A. | duka:nda:r chu kita:b kɨna:n | The shopkeeper sells books |
| 5 A. | yath sku:las manz chu ləRkɨ para:n | The boy studies in this school |
| 6 A. | yath pa:ri manz cha (akh) zana:n ro:za:n | A woman lives in this hut |
| 7 A. | gula:b chi phɔla:n | The flowers bloom |
| 8 A. | shur' chi vada:n | The children are crying |
| 9 A. | ləRkɨ chu para:n le:kha:n | The boy does read and write |
| 10 A. | tsu:NTh hot | The apple (is) rotten |
| 11 A. | ba:nɨ phuT | The vessel broke |

In the examplee cited above, sentences (4A–9A) with verbs in imperfective/progressive aspect are reduced to corresponding adjectival phrases in the sentences (4-9). Similarly the Adjectival phrases in the sentences (10) and (11) are derived from the sentences (10 A) and (11 A) respectively. Adjectival phrases in the sentences may be derived by a series of transformations. Consider the following sentences :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r gav dili | The bookseller went to Delhi |
| 13. | ka:r cala:van va:jen' zana:n ə:snɨ bema:r | The woman who drives a car was not sick |

The deep structure of the Noun Phrase in the sentence (12) will be as follows :



In the derivation of the NP, shared N of the embedded S and the Aux of the embedded S are deleted and the elements an and vo:l are added to the verb of the embedded S. The order of the Verb and the N in the VP of the embedded S is altered.

kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l duka:nda:r

Following are the forms of the participial element agreeing with the following noun in number and gender :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| -vo:l | -və:l' | -va:jen' | va:jini |

| | |
|---|---|
| kita:bɨ kɨnanvo:l | Book-seller (m.s) |
| kita:bɨ kɨnanvə:l' | Book-sellers (m.p.) |
| kita:bɨ kɨnanva:jen | Booksellers (f.s.) |
| kita:bɨ kɨnanvajini | Booksellers (f.p.) |

It is to be noted that all the verbs donot yield past participial adjectival phrases. The participial elements are added only to a restricted sub-class of verbs. Following are the elements added to the verbs agreeing with the subject Noun in number and gender which yield past participial phrases :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| -mut | -mɨt' | mɨts | matsɨ |

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| ronmut batɨ | Cooked rice (m.s.) |
| rən' mɨt' ᴛhu:l | Cooked eggs (m.p.) |
| rən' mɨts sabzi: | Cooked vegetable (f.s.) |
| ranimatsɨ ga:ᴅɨ | Cooked fish (f.p.) |

Consider the following examples of sentences with past participial elements :

14 ləRki khot pashas p'aTh The boy climbed on the roof
→ pashas p'aTh khotmut ləRki

15. shi:lan chel' palav Shiela washed clothes
→* shi:lin' chel'mit' palav

16. ra:man tshun' kəmi:z Ram put on a shirt
→* ra:min' tshunimits kəmi:z

17. ra:jan zo:l laliTi:n Raja lit the lantern
→* Rajun zo:li mut la:liTi:n

As pointed out above, Adjectives are the main constituents of Adjective phrases. Attributive Adjectives may precede a Noun as in the following examples :

18. sha:l chu krihun →krihun sha:l
(The) Shawl is black (The) black Shawl

19. ləRki chu pron →pron ləRki
(The) boy is fair complexioned (The) fair complexioned boy

20. ku:r cha thəz →thəz ku:r
(The) girl is tall (The) tall girl

A number of Adjectives agree in number and gender with the Noun they modify. e.g.

| | |
|---|---|
| lɔkuT leRki | (The) small boy |
| lɔkiT ku:r | (The) small girl |
| lɔkiT' ləRki | (The) small boys |
| lɔkici ko:ri | (The) small girls |

The forms of some of the Adjectives are given below :

| Maculine | | Feminine | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg | Pl | Sg | Pl | |
| n'u:l | ni:l' | ni:j | ni:ji | blue |
| vɔzul | vɔzil' | vɔzij | vɔziji | red |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| krɨhun | krɨhɨn' | krɨhɨ̈n' | krɨhni | black |
| boD | bəD' | bəD | baji | big |
| rut | rɨt' | rɨts | rɨtsɨ | good |
| modur | mədɨr' | mədɨr | mədɨri | sweet |
| T'oTh | TeTh' | TeTh | Techi | bitter |
| z'u:Th | zi:Th' | zi:Th | ze:chi | tall |
| thsoT | tshoT' | tshoT' | tshɔci | short |
| l'odur | ledɨr' | lədɨr | ledɨri | yellow |

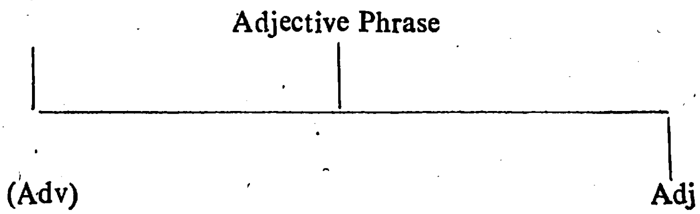
A few Adjectives like **saphe:d** 'white', **sa:ph** 'clean' **gulə:b'** 'rose colour' etc. do not change for their number and gender.

A number of Adjectives donot precede the Nouns without being preceded by the Adverbial element in the Adjective phrase. e.g.,

neciv sɨndis marnas p'aTh dɔkhi : mo:l

*dɔkhi:mo:l 'grieved father'

keeping in view such constructions where an Adverbial element must precede the adjective, we may illustrate the structure of the Adjective phrase as follows :




Adjectives always precede the Nouns they modify.

# 3

# The Auxiliary

3.0. The auxiliary is an obligatory element of a sentence. It consists of different components such as tense, modal, perfect progressive, imperfect and conditional. In this section we will discuss these components of the auxiliary very briefly.

### 3.1. Tense

Tense is used here in a restricted sense. It means the present, past and future forms and/or inflectional endings of the verbs agreeing in number, gender and person with the subject and/or object in different sentence types. Tense is generated as an element of the auxiliary in an underlying sentence. The tense marker is attached to the verb which follows it by a transformational rule. The present, future and past forms of the verb a:s 'be' are inflected for number, gender, person and case. Following are the forms of the verb 'be' used with the subject in the nominative case :

*Presen Tenset*

| | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Person | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Ist Per. | chus | chi | chas | cha |
| 2nd Per (non-hon.) | chukh | chiv | chakh | chav*i* |
| 2nd Per (hon.) | chiv | chiv | chiv | chav*i* |
| 3rd Per. (non-hon.) | chu | chi | cha | cha |
| 3rd Per. (hon.) | chi | chi | cha | cha |

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b*i* chus | I (m) am | b*i* chas | I(f.) am |
| əs' ch*i* | We (m.p) are | ts*i* chukh | You are |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tsi chakh | You (f.s.) are | toh' chiv | You are |
| toh' chavi | You (f.p.) are | hu/su chu | He is |
| hɔ/ cha | She is | hum/tim chi | They are |
| humi/timi cha | They (f.) are | | |

*Past Tense*

| Person | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Plu. | Sg. | Pl. |
| 1st | o:sus | ə:s' | ə:sis | a:si |
| 2nd (non-hon) | o:sukh | ə:sivi | ə:sikh | a:sivi |
| 2nd (hon.) | ə:sivi | ə:sivi | ə:sivi | a:sivi |
| 3rd (non-hon.) | o:s | ə:s' | ə:s | a:si |
| 3rd (hon) | ə:s' | ə:s' | ə:s' | a:si |

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bi o:sus | I (m.s.) was | əs' ə:s' | We (m.p.) were |
| bi ə:sis | I (f.s.) was | əs' a:si | We (f.p.) were |
| tsi o:sukh | You (m.s) were | toh' ə:sivi | You (m.p.) were |
| tsi ə:sikh | You (f.s.) were | toh' ə:sivi | You (f.p.) were |

*Future Tense*

| Person | Mas. | | Femi. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg, | Pl. |
| Ist | a:si | a:sav | a:si | a:sav |
| 2nd (non-hon) | a:sakh | ə:siv | a:sakh | ə:siv |
| 2nd (hon.) | ə:siv | ə:siv | ə:siv | ə:siv |
| 3rd (non-hon.) | a:si | a:san | a:si | a:san |
| 3rd. (hon.) | a:san | a:san | a:san | a:san |

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b*i* a:s*i* | I will be | as' a:sav | We will be |
| ts*i* a:sakh | You will be | toh' ə:siv | You will be |
| su a:si | He will be | tim a:san | They will be |

When the subject noun is in the oblique case following are the forms of the verb 'be' used in present past and future tenses. The verb agrees with object in number and gender and with subject in person.

*Present Tence*

| Person | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Ist/3rd | chu | chi | cha | cha |
| 2nd (sg.) | chuy | chiy | chay | chay |
| 2nd (Pl./hon) | chuv*i* | chiv*i* | chav*i* | chav*i* |

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| me/asi chu kalam | I/we have a pen |
| me/asi chi kalam | I/we have pens |
| me/asi cha kita:b | I/we have a book |
| me/asi cha kita:b*i* | I/we have books |
| tse chuy maka:n | You have a house |
| tse chiy maka:n*i* | You have houses |
| təhi chuv*i* maka:n | You have a house |
| təhi chiv mka:n*i* | You have houses |
| təmis/timan chu ko:ṭh | He/they has/have a coat |
| təmis/timan chi me:z | He/they has/have tables |

*Past Tense*

| Person | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Ist | o:s | ə:s' | ə:s | ə:s' |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd (Sg. non-hon.) | o:suy | ə:siy | ə:s*i*y | a:say |
| 2nd Person (Pl./hon.) | o:s*i*v*i* | ə:siv*i* | ə:s*i*v*i* | a:s*i*v*i* |
| 3rd Person | o:s | ə:s' | ə:s | a:s*i* |

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| me/asi o:s akh kamr*i* | I/we had a room |
| me/asi ə:s' dah kamr*i* | I/we had ten rooms |
| tse o:suy akh paɴkh*i* | You had a fan |
| tse ə:siy pa:ɴtsh paɴkh*i* | You had five fans |
| tɔhi o:s*i*v*i* akh po:sh | You had one flower |
| tɔhi ə:siv*i* va:riyah po:sh | You had many flowers |
| təmis o:s akh ᴛhe:l*i* | He/they had a bag |

*Future Tense*

| Person | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| 1st/3rd | a:si | a:san | a:si | a:san |
| 2nd (Sg. non-hon) | a:siy | a:s*i*nay | a:siy | a:s*i*nay |
| 2nd (Sg. hon) | a:siv*i* | a:s*i*nav | a:siv*i* | a:s*i*nav |

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| me/asi a:si akh alag kamr*i* | I/we will be having a separate room |
| me/asi a:san pa:ɴsh ciᴛhi le:khni | I/we will have to write five letters |
| tse a:siy pagah kə:m | You will be having works tomorrow |
| tse a:s*i*nay va:riyah ka:mi | You will be having a lot of things to do |
| tɔhi a:siv*i* yo:r yun | You will have to come here |
| tɔhi a:s*i*nav pagah kita:b*i* k*i*nimats*i* | You will have sold the books tomorrow |

| | |
|---|---|
| təmis/timan a:si pagah gari gatshun | He/they will have to go to his/their home tomorrow |
| təmis/timan a:san pə:nsi bə: gira:vin' | He/they will have to distribute the money |

### 3.2. Perfect

The perfect is an optional element of the Auxiliary, and consists of two obligatory pieces. They are the forms of the helping verb a:s 'have' and the past perticiple marker. Following are the past participle markers, which are added to the simple past forms of the verbs, agreeing in number and gender with the object :

| Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| —mut | —mit' | —mits | —matsi |

Examples of simple past forms of the verbs agreeing in number and gender with the object are as follows :

| Verb | | Root | Simple past forms with 1st/3rd person subject | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Masculine | | Feminine | |
| | | | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| parun | 'to read' | par | por | pər' | par | pari |
| karun | 'to do' | kar | kor | kər' | kər | kari |
| le:khun | 'to write' | le:kh | li:kh' | li:kh' | li:ch | le:chi |
| anun | 'to bring' | an | on | ən' | ən' | ani |
| nu'n | 'to take' | ni | n'uv | niyi | niyi | niyi |
| d'un | 'to give' | di | d'ut | dit' | dits | ditsi |
| kh'on | 'to eat' | khe | kha'v | kheyi | kheyi | kheyi |
| ho'n | 'to buy' | he | h'ot | het' | hets | hetsi |
| c'on | 'to drink' | ce | ca'v | ceyi | ceyi | ceyi |

The past participle markers are added in the following manner :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| por+mut | = | pormut | pər+mits | = | pərmits |
| pər'+mit' | = | pər'mit' | pari+matsi | = | parimatsi |

The forms of the helping verb a:sun 'to have' used in sentence constructions with the perfect auxiliary item in present perfect and past perfect tense are given below :

*Present Perfect* :

| Person | Masculine Sg. | Masculine Plu | Feminine Sg. | Feminine Plu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st/3rd | chu | chu | cha | cha |
| 2nd (non-hon.) | chuth | chath | chath | chath |
| 2nd (Pl./ hon. Sg.) | chuvi | chiv | chav | chavi |

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| me chu onmut me:z | I have brought a table |
| me chi ən'mit' me:z | I have brought tables |
| me cha ən'mits gər | I have brought a watch |
| me cha animatsi gari | I have brought watches |
| tse chuth kh'omut bati | You have eaten meals |
| tse chith khemit' tsu:NTh' | You have eaten apples |
| tse chath khemits tse:r | You have eaten an appricot |
| tse chath khemitsi tse:ri | You have eaten appricots |
| tɔhi chuv h'otmut maka:ni | You have bought a house |
| tɔhi chiv het'mit' rhu:l | You have bought eggs |
| tɔhi chav hetsmits kursi : | You have bought a chair |
| tɔhi chav hettsmatsi zə:ni | You have bought baskets |
| tem' chu n'umut sandu :kh | He has taken the box |
| timav chi mimit' Thu:l | They have taken eggs |
| tami cha mimits və:j | She has taken a ring |
| tami chi nimitsi va:ji | She has taken rings |

*Past Perfect*

| Person | Masculine Sg. | Masculine Plu | Feminine Sg. | Feminine Plu |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st | o :s | ə:s' | ə:s | a:si |

| 2nd (Sg. non-hon) | o:suth | ə:sith | ə:sith | a:sath |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd (Pl/Sg hon) | o:sivi | ə :sivi | ə:sivi | a:sivi |
| 3rd | o:s | ə:s' | ə:s | a:si |

Examples :

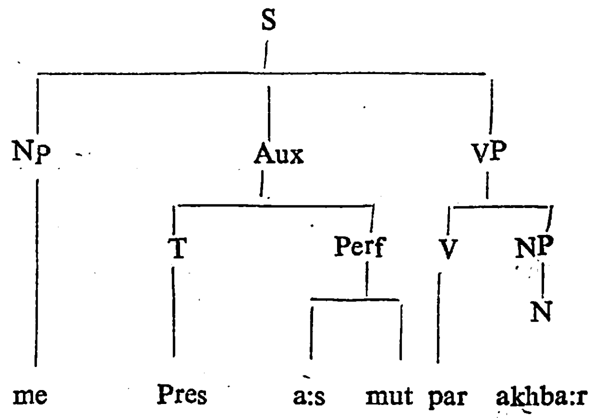
| | |
|---|---|
| me o:s l'u:khmut mazmu:n | I had written an essay |
| me ə:s' li:kh'mit' sava:l | I had written questions |
| me ə:s li:chmits ciTh' | I had written a letter |
| me a:si le: chimatsi ciThi | I had written letters |
| tse o:suth pormut akhba :r | You had read newspaper |
| tse ə:sith pər'mit' mazmu:n | You had read essays |
| tse ə:sith pərmits ciTh' | You had read the letter |
| tse a:sath parimatsi kita:bi | You had read books |
| təhi o:sivi d'utmut ə:ni | You had given the mirror |
| təhi ə:sivi dit' mit' ba:ni | You had given the utensils |
| təhi ə:sivi ditsmits chətir' | You had given an umbrella |
| təhi a:sivi ditsimatsi kuNzi | You had given keys |

In the examples given above, we see that the perfect consists of the helping verb a:s plus the past participle form of the verb. The forms of the helping verb **a:sun** 'to have' agree with the subject in person and with the object in number and gender. The past participle form of the verb agrees with object in number and gender.

The tense is attached to the right hand side of the helping verb a:s and the past participle marker is attached to the right hand side of the verb which follows it. Both these operations are carried out by transformational rules.

Therefore, the tree structure of sentences (1) and (2) given below can be drawn as follows.:

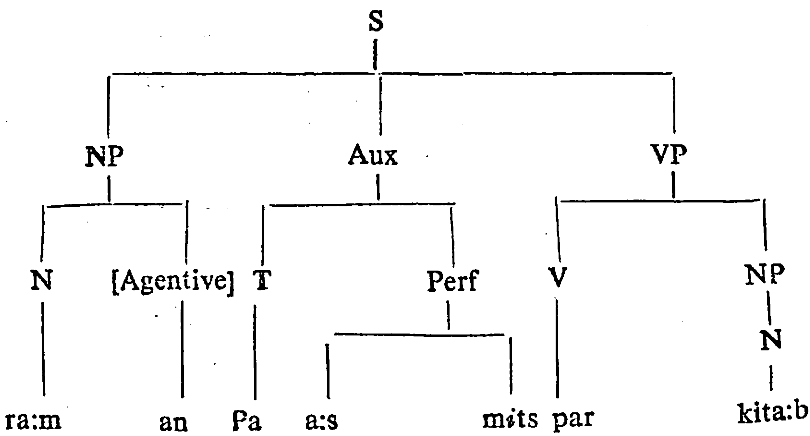
(1) me chu pormut akhba:r




→me a:s [+Pres] par [+mut] akhba:r

→me chu pormut akhba;r

(2) ra:man ə:s pərmits kita:b




After applying a series of agreement and transformational rules we get the desired sentence as :

ra:man ə:s pərmits kita:b

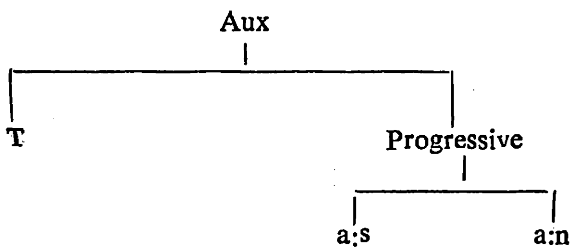
For instance, the object *kita:b* 'a book' being feminine singular, participle marker *mits* will be chosen, which is added to the right hand side of the verb in past tense. The verb in past tense agrees in number and gendar with the object. The helping

verb in past tense also agrees with the object in number and gender.

### 3.3. Progressive

The progressive is an optional element of the auxiliary. It consists of two parts in Kashmiri, the helping verb *a:s* 'be' and the participle ending *a:n*. The participle ending *a:n* is always added to the main verb root. The forms of the verb *a:s* 'be' agree with subject in number, gender and person. The tense is always attached to the verb *a:s* 'be'.

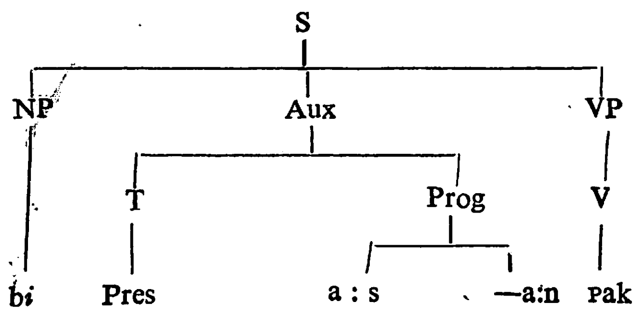
Thus the structure of the Auxiliary with progressive aspect will be as follows :




The tense may be either present, past or future. Corresponding to the tense we get sentences present progressive, past progressive and future progressive. E ampl s of the three sentence types are as follows :

1. b*i* chus paka:n I am walking
2. ra:m*i* o:s palav chala·n Ram was washing clothes
3. shi:l*i* a:si bat*i* rana:n Shiela will be cooking meals

The tree structure of the sentences, b*i* chus paka:n 'I am walking', will be as follows:

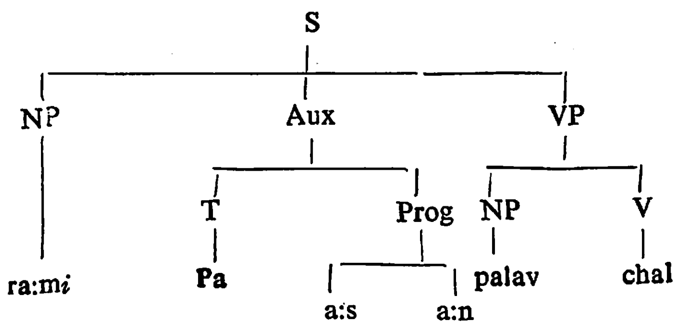


In the derivation of the desired sentence, tense is added by a transformational rule to the verb a:s 'be' and the participle ending a:n is added as a suffix to the main verb root, and the verb 'be' agrees with the subject in person, number and gender.

→bi a:s [+Pres] pak+[a:n]

→bi chus paka:n

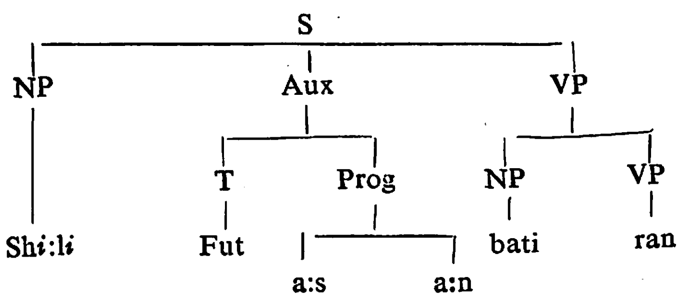
The sentence ra:mi o:s palav chala:n Ram was washing clothes is derived from the following tree structure :




→ra:mi [3rd Per m.s.] a:s [+Pa] palav chal+a:n

→ra:mi o:s palav chala:n

Similarly, the sentence shieli a:si bati rana:n Shiela will be cooking meals is derived from the following tree structure :




→shi:li [3rd Per f.s.] bati ran+a:n

→shi:li a:si bati rana:n

The present progressive is generally used to express present time, for example ;

| | |
|---|---|
| ra:m*i* chu kita:b para:n vunik'an | Ram is reading a book right now |

The past progressive indicates that at some point in the past the action was in progress, for example :

| | |
|---|---|
| sohn*i* o:s shra:n kara:n ra:th sha:mas | Sohan was taking a bath yesterday evening |

Similarly, in the future progressive, it is presumed that the action will be in progress at a time in future, for example :

hi:r*i* a:si na:Tak vucha:n pagah sha:man

Hira will be watching a play tomorrow evening

### 3.4. Imperfect

The imperfect is also an optional element of the auxiliary. It consists of two parts in Kashmiri, the helping verb a:s 'be' and the sffix **a:n.** Tense is attached to the helping verb a:s and the suffix is attached to the main verb root. We derive following types of sentences by these transformations :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. b*i* chus para:n | I read |
| 2. ts*i* chukh do:ra:n | You run |
| 3. su chu le:kha:n | He writes |

### 3.5. Modal

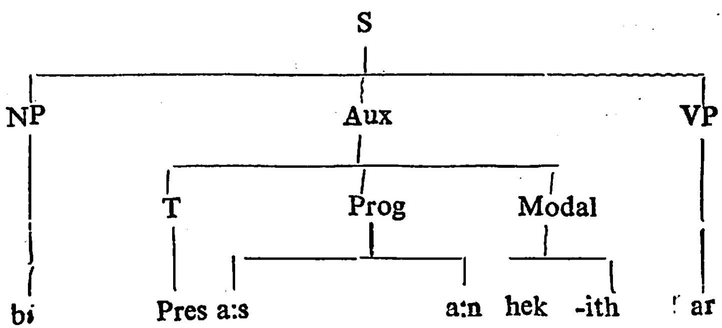
The Modal is an optional element of an auxiliary. It consists of two obligatory parts : the modal verb **hek** 'can' and suffix **—ith** Tense is attached to the modal verd **hek** and it takes all the inflectional markers. The second part **— ith** is added as a suffix to the main verb stem. The main verb undergoes certain phonological changes after the suffix is added to it. Following are the forms of the modal verb **hek** in simple past tense :

| Person | Masouline | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| 1st | h'ok | hek' | hec | heci |
| 2nd (Sg.) | h'okuth | kekith | hecith | hecath |
| 2nd (Pl.) | h'okv*i* | hekiv*i* | heciv*i* | heciv*i* |
| 3rd | h'ok | hek' | hec | heci |

Consider the following examples.

1. bɨ chus heka:n pərith — I can/am able to read
2. bɨ hekɨ palav chəlith — I can wash clothes
3. me h'ok maka:n bauə:vith — I could construct a house

The tree structure of the sentence (1) will be as follows :




bɨ a:s [+Pres] hek [+a:n] par [+ith]

bi chus heka:n pərith

## 3.6 Conditional

The conditional is an optional element of the auxiliary. The conditional markers are added to the auxiliary verb stem a:s and in the absence of the auxiliary verb stem a:s they are added to the MV stems. The forms used in subjectival constructions are different from the forms used in objectival type of constructions :

| Person | Subjectival | | Objectival | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. |
| Ist | —ɨhə : | —ɨhə:v | —ihe : | —ɨhə:n |
| 2nd | —ɨhə:kh | —ihi:v | —ihe:th | —ihe:vɨ |
| 3rd | —ihe : | —ɨhə:n | —ihe: | —ɨhe:n |

Examples :

bɨ a:sɨhə: a:mut — I would have come
əs' a:sɨhə:v a:mɨt' — We would have come
tsɨ a:sɨhə:kh a:mut — You would have come

| | |
|---|---|
| toh' ə:sihi:v a:mit' | You (p./hon. sg.) would have come |
| su a:sihe: a:mut | He would have come |
| tim a:sihə:n a:mit' | They would have come |
| me/asi a:sihe: kita:b pərmits | I/We would have read the book |
| me/asi a:sihə:n kita:bi parimatsi— | I/We would have read the books |
| tse a:sihe:th akhba·r onmut | You would have brought the newspaper |
| tohi a:sihe:vi akhba:r onmut | You (p) would have brought newspaper |
| təm'/timav a:sihe: ciTh' li:chimits | He/They would have written a letter |
| tem'/timav a:sihə:n ciThi le:chimatsi | He/They would have written letters |

In the absence of auxiliary **a:s**, conditional markers are added to main verb stems e.g ,

| | |
|---|---|
| bi parihə : kita:b | I would read the book |
| tsi le:khihə:kh | You (Sg.) would write |
| toh' li:khihi:v | You (Pl.) would write |
| su anihe: | He would bring |
| tim anihə:n | They would bring |

3.7. Following are the possible combinations of the components of auxiliary:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| T+Perf. = | bi chus a:mut | I have come |
| T+Prog = | bi chus yiva:n | I am coming |
| T+Imperf= | bi chus para:n | I read |
| T+Cond+Perf= | bi a:sihə: a:mut | I would have come |
| T+Cond+Prog= | bi a:sihə : yiva:n | I would be coming |
| T+Cond+Imperf= | bi a:sihə: kara:n | I would do |
| T+Cond+Imperf= | bi a:sihə: h'okmut yith | I could have come |
| T+Cond+M+Prog= | bi a:sihə : h'aka:n yith | I could come |
| T+Cond+M+Imperf= | bi a:sihə: h'aka:n pərith | I could read |

# 4

# The Verb Phrase

4.0 The main verb is an obligatory element of the verb pharse. Main verbs are discussed under different major categories as copulative, intransitive, transitive and causative verbs. There is a close relationship between the main verb and the complement. It is, therefore, important to discuss different complements which a verb may take.

## 4.1 Copulative

The forms of the copula verb **a:sun** 'to be' are the same as that of the auxiliaries. The forms are inflected for number, gender, person, and case in subjectival constructions.

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| b*i* chus ma:sTar | I (m.s) am a teacher |
| b*i* chas vəki:l | I (f.s) am an advocate. |
| əs' chi ləRk*i* | We (m.p.) are boys |
| əs' cha ko:ri | We are girls |
| ts*i* chukh shur | You are a child |
| ts*i* chakh ku:r | You are a girl |
| toh' chiv shur' | You are children |
| toh' chav*i* ko:ri | You are girls |
| su chu da:na: | He is wise |
| sɔ cha da:na: | She is wise |
| tim chi lɔk*i*T | They are young |
| tim*i* cha sɔndar | They are beautiful |

The forms of copula verb agree with object in number and gender in the objectival type constructions.

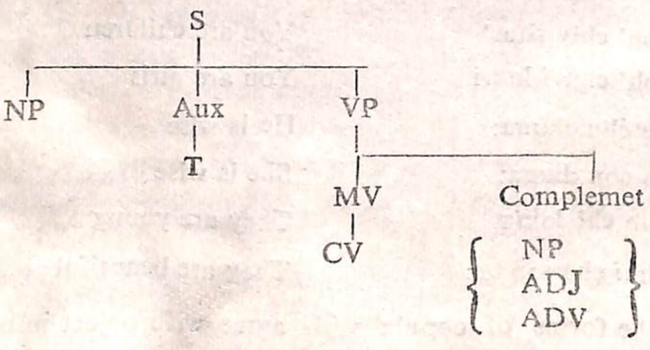
Exampals :

| | |
|---|---|
| ləʀkas chu akhba:r | The boy has a newspaper |
| ləʀkas chi akhba:r | The boy has newspapers |
| ləʀkas cha gər | The boy has a watch |
| ləʀkas cha gari | The boy has watches |
| tse chuy maka:nɨ | You have a house |
| tse chiy neciv | You have sons |
| tse chay ku:r | You have a daughter |
| tse chay ko:ri | You have daughters |
| təhi chuv me:z | You have a table |
| təhi chav kursi: | You have a chair |
| təhi chiv duka:nɨ | You have shops |
| təhi chavɨ kita:bi | You have books |
| mohnas chu kalɨdo:d | Mohan has a headache |
| mohnas chi po:sh | Mohan has flowers |
| sohnas cha kə:m | Sohan has (some) work |
| sohanas cha shaklɨ | Sohan has pictures |

The copula verb (cv) in Kashmiri thus takes nominal, adjectival and adverbial complements. Consider the following examples :

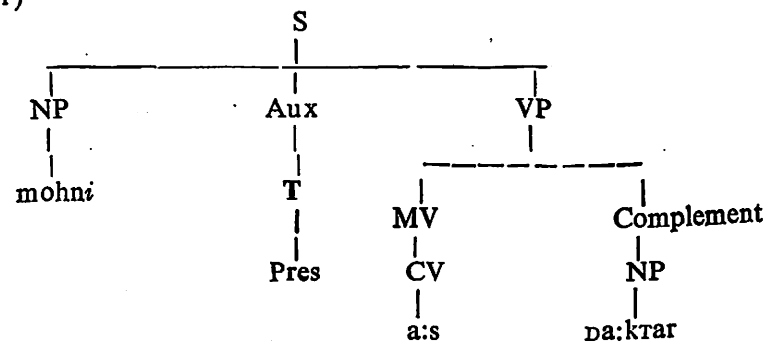
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | mohnɨ chu ᴅa:kᴛᴀʀ | Mohan is a doctor |
| 2. | ra:da ə:s khu:bsu:rath | Radha was beautiful |
| 3. | sohnɨ a:si sku:las manz | Sohan will be in the school |

The structure of the sentences (1—3) can be represented by a tree diagramme an follows :



The tense is attached to the C V and the C V agrees wit subject noun in number, gender and person. The tree diagrammes of the sentences 1-3 are as follows :

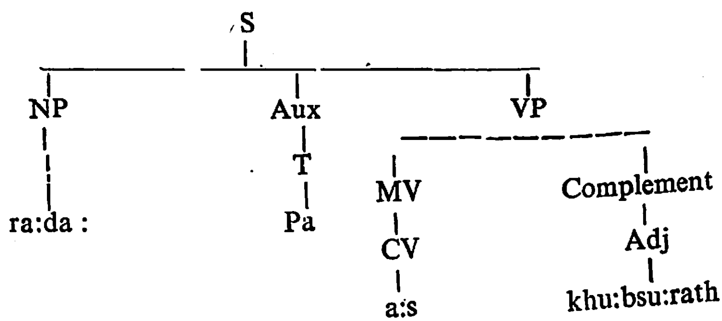
(1)




→ mohni [3rd Per Mas Sg.] a:s[+Pres] ᴅa:kᴛar

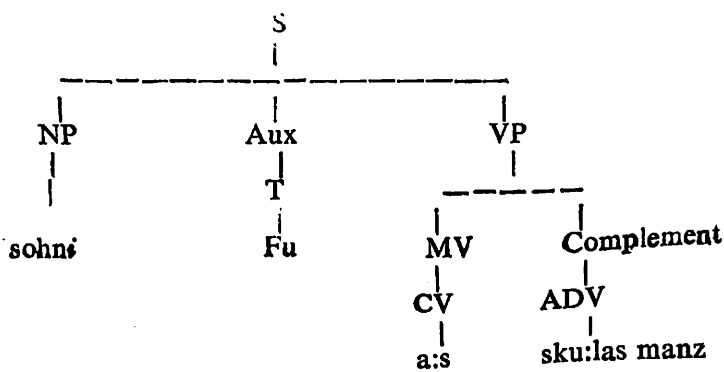
→ mohni chu ᴅa:kᴛar

(2)




→ ra:da: [3rd Per Fem. Sg.] a:s [+Pa] khu:bsu:rath
→ ra:da: ə:s khu:bsu:rath

{3)



→ sohnɨ [3rd Per. Mas. Sg.] a:s [+Fu] sku:las manz
→ sohnɨ a:si sku:las manz

The structures of the nominal, adjectival and adverbial complements may be of different types. Some of these structures have been discussed elsewhere.

The copula verb links the subject and a complement. It may appear in certain sentences at the surface structure that the copula verb takes a zero complement. For examples :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kita:b cha ? | 'book' 'is' ? | Is there a book ? |
| kita:b cha | 'book' 'is' | 'There is a book' |

These sentences may be derived from the following sentences with adverbial complement :

| | |
|---|---|
| kita:b cha: yeti ? | Is there a book here ? |
| kita:b cha yeti | The book is here |

A study of various semantic and situational contexts reveals that the copula verb always takes a complement in its deep structure. The following sentences cannot be interpretted as complementless :

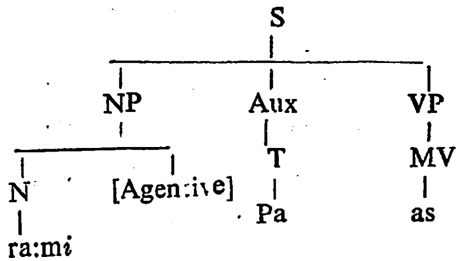
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| poz chu | 'true' 'is' | It is true |
| va:dɨ chu | 'promise' 'is' | It is a promise |
| bagva:n chu | 'God' 'is' | There is God or God exists |

### 4.2 Intransitive

In traditional grammars, verbs that do not take noun phrase as an object are called intransitive verbs. For example :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | ra:man os | Rama laughed |
| 2. | shi:lan vod | Shiela wept |
| 3. | shur' shong' | The children slept |
| 4. | əs' a:yi | we came |

The tree structure of the sentence (1) will be as follows :




ra:m*i* [+an] as [+Pa]

→ra:man os

A clear-cut distinction has to be maintained between those verbs which do not take a noun phrase as an object and those verbs which do take noun phrase as an object or complement. A number of sentences which appear to take zero complement may be derived from sentences with object noun phrases. For exampple the sentences (1)—(3)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | me g'ov | I sang |
| 2. | tse z'u:nuth | You won |
| 3. | təm' ho:r | He lost |

can be derived from the sentences with noun phrase objects given below :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1A | me g'av bə:th | I sang a song |
| 2A | tse z'u:nuth mE:c | you won the match |
| 3A | təm' ho:r mE:c | He lost the match |

Therefore, the verbs like g'**avun** 'to sing', ze:**nun** 'to win' and ha:run 'to loose' can not be called intransitive verbs.

In Kashmiri, intransitive verbs may be classified under three categories, on the basis of the case markers the subject may take.

*Category I* includes verbs such as vadun 'to weep'. asun 'to laugh', laDun 'to quarrel' bo:lun 'to say' etc.

In the past tense, the forms of these verbs are used with the subject nouns in agentive case. The forms agree

with the subject in person and number. Following are the forms of these verbs in the past tense :

| Verb in Infinitive | | Person | Mesculine Sg. | Mesculine Pl. | Feminine Sg. | Feminine Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| vadun | 'to cry' | 1st | vod | vod | vod | vod |
| | | 2nd | voduth | vod*i*v*i* | voduth | *vodivi* |
| | | 3rd | vod | vod | vod | vod |
| asun | 'to laugh' | 1st | os | os | os | os |
| | | 2nd | osuth | os*i*v*i* | osuth | os*i*v*i* |
| | | 3rd | os | os | os | os |
| laDun | 'to quarrel' | 1st | loD | loD | loD | loD |
| | | 2nd | loDuth | loDuv*i* | loDuth | loDuv*i* |
| | | 3rd | loD | loD | loD | loD |

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| me os | 'I laughed' | asi os | 'we laughed' |
| tse osuth | 'you laughed' | təhi os*i*v*i* | 'you (pl.) laughed' |
| təm' os | 'he laughed' | timav os | 'they laughed' |

Thus, in the Ist and 3rd person the agreement of the verb is with the person and in the 2nd person with the number also.

*Category II* includes the verbs such as atsun 'to enter', gatshun 'to go', yun 'to come', ne:run 'to come out', z'on 'to be born,' pakun, 'to walk' marun 'to die' etc. These verbs are always used with the subject noun in nominative case. Following are the inflected from of these verbs in past tense agreeing in number and gender with the subject noun :

| Verb | | Person | Masculine Sg. | Masculine Pl. | Feminine Sg. | Feminine Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| atsum | 'to enter' | 1st | tsa:s | tsa:yi | tsa: yas | tsa:y*i* |
| | | 2nd | tsa:kh | tsa:yiv*i* | tsa:yakh | tsa:yiv*i* |
| | | 3rd | tsa:v | tsa:yi | tsa:yi | tsa:yi |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| gatshun | 'to go' | 1st | go:s | gəyi | gəyas | gəyi |
| | | 2nd | go:kh | gəyivɨ | gəyakh | gəyivɨ |
| | | 3rd | gov/gav | geyi | gəyi | gəyi |
| yun | 'to come' | 1st | a:s | a:yi | a:yas | a:yi |
| | | 2nd | a:kh | a:yivɨ | a:yakh | a:yivɨ |
| | | 3rd | a:v | a:yi | a:yi | a:yi |
| ne:run | 'to come out' | 1st | dra:v | dra:yi | dra:yas | dra:yi |
| | | 2nd | dra:kh | dra:yivɨ | dra:yakh | dra:yɨvɨ |
| | | 3rd | dra:v | dra:yi | dra:yi | dra:yi |
| z'on | 'to be born' | 1st | za:s | za:yi | za:yas | za:yi |
| | | 2nd | za:kh | za:yivɨ | za:yakh | za:yivɨ |
| | | 3rd | za:v | za:yi | za:yi | za:yi |

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bɨ tsa:s | I(m.) entered | bɨ tsa:yas | I(f.) entered |
| əs' tsa:yi | we entered | tsɨ tsa:kh | you (m.s.) entered |
| tsɨ tsa:yakh | you (f.s.) entered | toh' tsa:yivɨ | you (p.) entered |
| su tsa:v | he entered | tim tsa:yi | they (m) entered |
| sɔ tsa:yi | she entered | timɨ tsa:yi | they (f.) entered |

*Category III*

There is a very limited number of intransitive verbs which may be used with subjects in agentive case as well as with subjects in nominative case. For example, verbs like **natsun** 'to dance' fall in this category. Following are the forms of this verb used with subjects in nominative case as well as agentive case :

Nominative Case :

| | Masculine | | Feminine | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Person | Sg | Pl | Sg | Pl |
| Ist | notsus | nəts' | nətsɨs | natsɨ |
| 2nd | notsukh | nətsivɨ | nətsɨkh | natsɨvɨ |
| 3rd | nots | nəts' | nəts | natsɨ |

Agentive Case :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ist | nots | nots | nots | nots |
| 2nd | notsuth | notsivi | nətsikh | natsivi |
| 3rd | nots | nots | nots | nots |

Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| bi notsus/me nots | I danced |
| tsi notsukh/tse not suth | You danced |
| su nots/təm' nots | He danced |

**4.3. Transitive**

Verbs that take noun phrases as complements are called transitive verbs. The verb agrees with the complement noun phrase in number and gender and with subject noun in person and number Following are the forms of a few verbs in the past tense agreeing with the subject noun in person and number and with the complement noun phrase in number and gender.

| Verb | Subject N Person | Masculine Sg. | Masculine Pl. | Feminine Sg. | Feminine Pl. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| parun 'to read' | | | | | |
| | Ist | por | pər' | pər | pari |
| | 2nd (non-hon) | poruth | pərith | pərith | par'ath |
| | 2nd (p/shon) | porivi | pərivi | pərivi | parivi |
| | 3rd | por | pər' | pər | pari |
| kh'on 'to eat' | | | | | |
| | Ist | kh'av | kheyi | kheyi | kheyi |
| | 2nd (s. non-hon) | kh'o:th | kheyath | kheyath | kheyivi |
| | 2nd (p./s hon) | kh'o:vi | kheyivi | kheyivi | kheyivi |
| | 3rd | kh'av | khey | khey | kheyi |

Exampale :

| | |
|---|---|
| me por akhba:r | I read a newspaper |
| me pər' akhba:r | I read newspapers |
| asi pər kita:b | We read a book |
| asi pari kita:b*i* | We read books |
| tse choluth kal*i* | You washed your head |
| tse chəlith palav | You washed clothes |
| tse chəjith kəmi:z | You washed a shirt |
| tse chajath kəmi:z*i* | You washed shirts |
| tɔhi chol*i*v*i* buth | You (Pl/hon.) washed your face |
| tɔhi chəl*i*v*i* ba:n*i* | You washed utensils |
| tɔhi chəjiv*i* sə:ʀ' | You washed a sari |
| tɔhi chajiv*i* sa:ʀi | You washed saris |
| ra:man on bəᴛ*i*v*i* | Ram brought a purse |
| ləʀkav ən' ᴛama:ᴛar | The boys brought tomatoes |
| ko:ri ən' dəj | The girl brought a handkerchief |
| ko:r'av ani daji | The girls brought handkerchiefs |

Transitive verbs may further be distinguished into two categories : (a) "action" transitive verbs and (b) "description" transitive verbs. Noun phrase complements function as *object* with "action" transitive verbs and they function as *predicate nominals* with "description" transitive verbs.

Examples are :

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. sohnan li:ch kita:b | Sohan wrote a book |
| 2. ra:man pər ciᴛh' | Rama read the letter |

in the sentences (1) and (2) **kita:b** and **ciᴛh'** function as objects, with the "action" transitive verb. In the sentences (3) and (4) given below, the noun phrase complements **ap*i*z'o:r** 'liar' and **nəv gər** 'new watch' function as predicate nominals with descriptive transitive verbs :

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. mohn*i* chu ap*i*z'o:r | Mohan is a liar |
| 4. tse chay nəv gər | You have a new watch |

Notice that there are clear-cut differences in the semantic relationship between the main verbs and the noun phrase com-

plements in the two categories of verbs cited above. Besides these differences, there are formal differences as well. For example, the "description" verbs can not be easily made progressive. e.g.,

(3A) *mohnɨ chu a:sa:n apɨz'o:r

(4A) *tse chay a:sa:n nəv gər

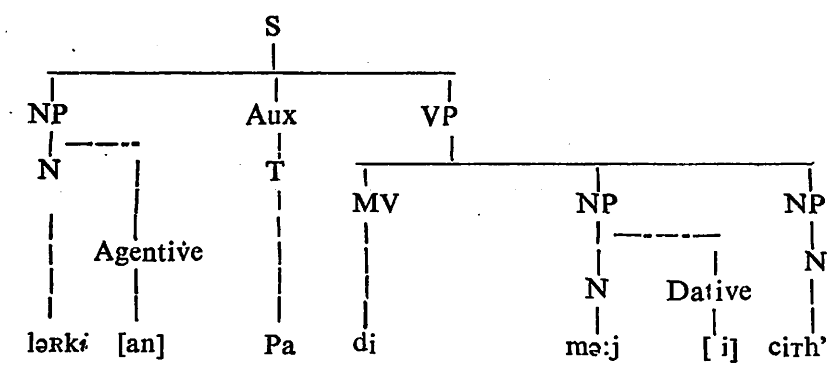
The sentences (3) and (4) are of course grammatical in a different use.

### 4.3.1. Double Transitive Verbs

When a verb takes two objects, it is called a double transitive verb. For example :

ləʀkan dits ma:ji ciᴛh' The boy gave a letter to his mother

The tree structure of this sype of sentence will be as follow :




→ləʀkɨ [+an] di [+Pa] mə:j[+i] ciᴛh'

→ləʀkan dits ma:ji ciᴛh'

### 4.4. Causatives

Verbs are causativised by adding causative suffixes to the verb stems. **ɨna:v** is added to mark the first causative and **ɨna:vɨna:v** to mark the second causative e.g.,

| *Verb stem* | *1st causal* | *2nd causat* |
|---|---|---|
| an 'bring' | anɨna:v | anɨna:vɨna:v |
| kar 'do' | karɨna:v | karɨna:vɨna:v |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| khe | 'eat' | kh'a:vɨna:v | kh'a:vɨna:vɨna:v |
| ni | 'take' | n'a:v/n'a:vɨna:v | n'a:vɨna:vɨna:v |

Notice that the causal stem undergoes certain phonological changes also. The causative stems take inflectional endings according to different sentence constructions.

In the past tense, if the causative agent is in the nominative case the verb agrees with the causative agent. If the causative agent is in the oblique case, a postposition is added and the verb agrees with object.

Examples :

1. sh:lan chəl' palav — Shiea washed clothes
2. me chalɨnə:v shɨ:l palav — I caused Shiea to wash clothes
3. me chalɨnə:v/chalɨna:vɨnə:v' shi.las athi palav
4. me chalɨnə:v/chalɨna:vɨnə:v' ra:mɨni zəriyi shi:las athi palav

In the progressive/imperfective aspect the auxiliary verb always agrees with $N_1$ (inɨtiater) in number, gender and person.
Examples :

5. shi:lɨ cha/ə:s palav chala:n — Shila is/was washing clothes
6. ra:mɨ chu/o:s shi:las palav chalɨna:va:n — Rama is/was causing Shiea to wash clothes
7. ra:mɨ chu/o:s shi:las athi palav chalɨna:va:n
8. In the future tense, the causal verb agrees with $N_1$ (initiater) in person and number.
9. mohnɨ ani kitab — Mohan wlll bring the book
10. ra:mɨ anɨna:vi mohnas kita:b
11. ra:mɨ anɨna:vi mohnas athi kita:b
12. bɨ anɨna:van mohnas athi/mohnɨni zəriyi kita:b

### 4.5. Verb Phrase Complements

Verbs phrase Complements may also include emedded sentences. Here we will discuss three main sentence types : (a) noun

clause sentences, (b) question-word sentences, and (c) tenseless sentences, which are embedded in verb phrase complements.

### 4.5.1. Noun Clause Sentence

A noun clause sentence which is embedded in the verb phrase is optionally preceded by **ki/zi** 'that'. For example :

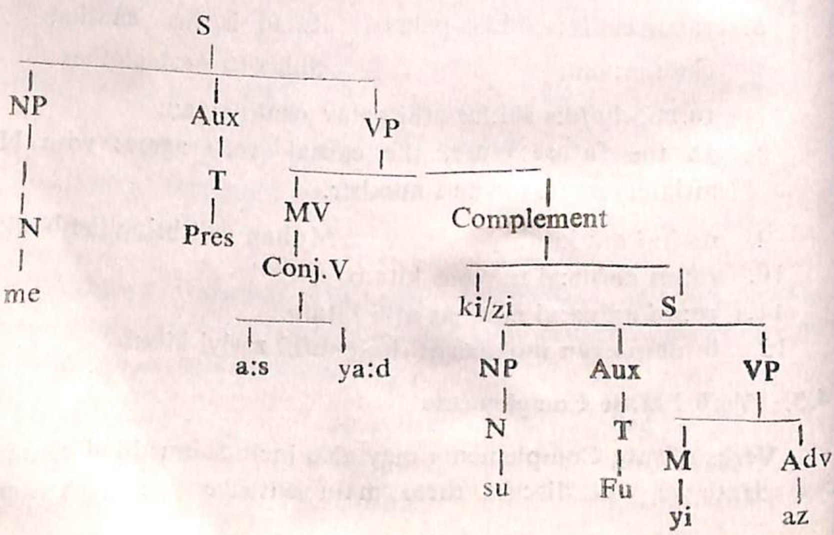
| | |
|---|---|
| me chu ya:d (ki/zi) su yiyi az | I remember (that) he will come today |
| me bu:z (ki/zi) təm' kor kha:ɴdar | I heard (that) he got married |
| tse vachuth (ki/zi) me kər panɨn' kə:m | You saw (that) I did my work |
| me chu ba:sa:n (ki/zi) az peyi ru:d | It appears to me that it will rain today |

The noun clause sentence complement will thus develop according to the following phrase structure rule :

Noun clause sentence = ki/zi + S

A sample derivation of a sentence which contains a noun clause sentence complement is given below :

me chu ya:d (ki/zi) su yiyi az



→me a:s [+Pres] ya:d ki/zi su yi [+Fu] az

→me cha ya:d ki/zi su yiyi az

Notice that when an embedded sentence in the verb phrase complement does not contain the verb **a:s** 'be' the sentence can be reduced to a participial phrase by applying certain transformations. For example, the following noun clause complement phrases :

| | |
|---|---|
| me a:v khɔsh su gav gari | I liked it that he went home |
| →me a:v khɔsh təm'sund gari gatshun | I liked his going to home |
| me bu:z su a:v va:pas | I heard (that) he eame back |
| →me bu:z təm'sindi va:pas yinuk | |
| me ru:dni ya:d su a:v yo:r | I did not remember (that) he came here |
| →me ru:dni ya:d 'təm'sund yo:r yun | |

If an attempt is made to reduce the sentences with verb a:s 'be' into a participial phrases, the result will be illformed sentences :

| | |
|---|---|
| me tor phikri su o:sm' tsu:r | I understood that he was a thief |
| *metor phikri təm'sund tsu:r a:sun | |
| me bu:z sava:l o:s Thi:kh | I heard the question was correct |
| *me bu:z sava:luk Thi:kh a:sun | |
| ra:mas p'av ya:d java:b o:s galath | Ram remembered that the answer was incorrect |
| *ramas p'av ya:d java:buk galath a:sun | |

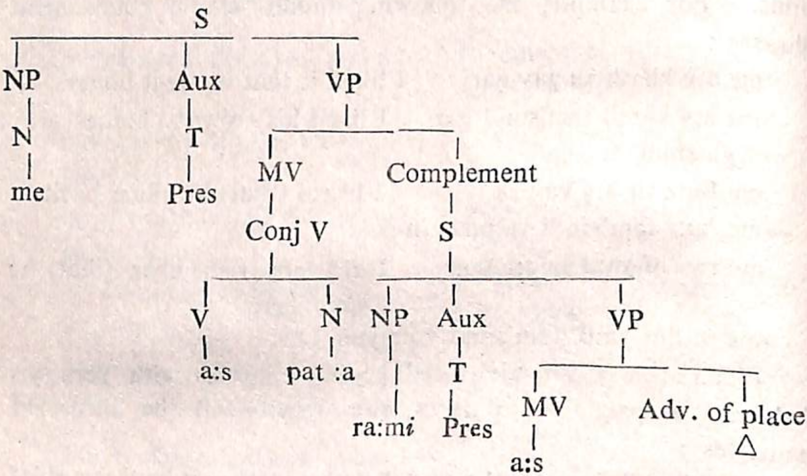
**4.5.2. Question-Word Sentence Complements**

A number of verbs take question-word sentence complements. The embedded sentences are derived by replacing a grammatical element by an appropriate question-word. Consider the following examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| me chu pata: ra:mi kati chu | I know where Ram is |
| toh' vəniv su k'a:zi a:v | You say why did he come |
| təmis chu ya:d kəm' kər kə:m | He remembers who did the work |
| me tor phikri ra:mi ko:ta: z'u:Th chu | I understood how tall Ram is |

In all the examples given above, we find that a grammatical element is replaced by a question-word and the question-word is moved to an appropriate place. The tree structure of sentence with a question-word sentence compliment is given below :

me chu pata: rami kati chu




In the embeded sentence, the grammatical element Adv. of place is replaced by an appropriate question word **kati**, which is later moved before the verb **a:s.**

## 4.5.3. The Tenseless Sentence Gomplement

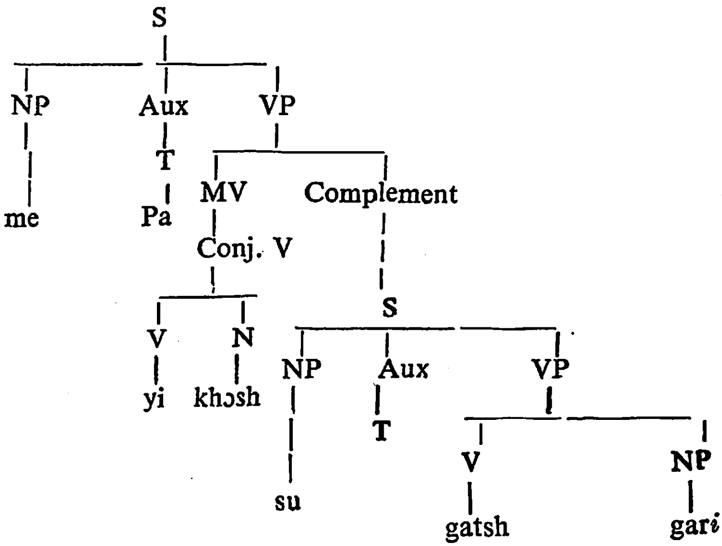
In different types of sentences with teneless sentence complements, the tense of the embedded sentences does not come to the surface of the sentence. The tense of the embedded sentence is deleted and the embedded sentence comes to the surface as a participial phrase.

For example, from the underlying sentence bi T gatsh gari 'T go home' we may derive a phrase m'o:n gari gatshun 'My going to home'.

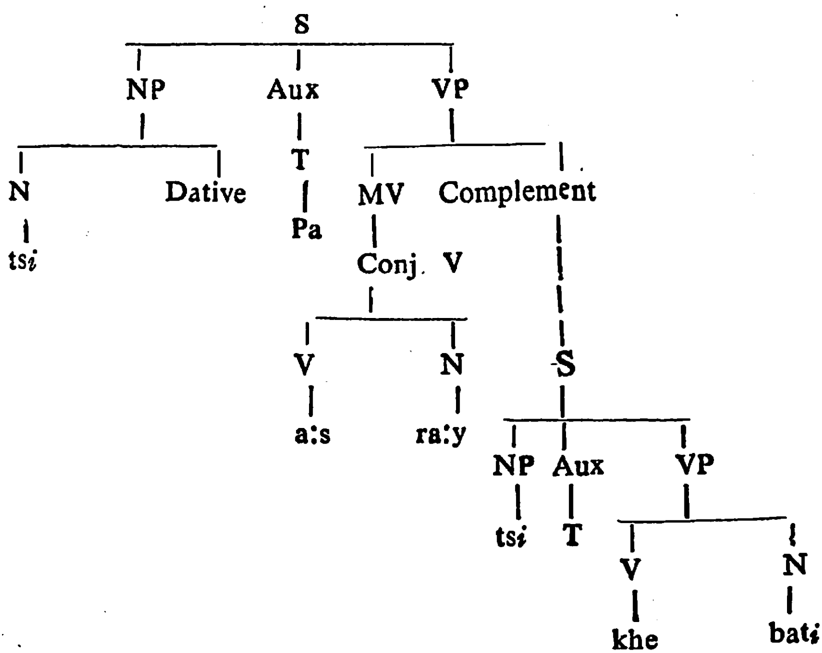
The tense in the underlying sentence is deleted, the subject pronoun is changed to possessive pronun and the suffix **un** is added to . the verb stem. The sentence

me a:v khɔsh təm' sund gari gatshun 'I liked his going to home'

is derived from the following underlying structure :




Similarly the sentence tse ə:siy ra:y bati kh'on 'You hoped tō eat meals' is derived from the following underlying strncture :




In this case, the identical NP of the underlying sentence is also deleted by transformations and does not appear on the surface structure.

## 5

# Questions

5.0 Two types of Questions in Kashmiri 1. 'yes—no questions and 2 question-word questions are discussed in this section. It is assumed that questions are formed from underlying statements by applying certain optional transformational rules. In certain cases questions are formed only by changing the intonation, such type of Questions have not been discussed here.

## 5.1 Yes—No Questions

A 'yes—no question' is a type of question which anticipates 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. Consider the following examples :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | yi cha: kita:b ? | Is this (the) book ? |
| 2. | shur: osa: asa:n ? | Was (the) child laughing ? |
| 3. | bɨ para: kita:b ? | Should I read the book ? |
| 4. | ra:mɨ yiya: az ? | Will Ram come today ? |
| 5. | bɨ heka: yith ? | Can I come ? |
| 6. | tse chutha: akhba:r pormut ? | Have you read the newspaper ? |
| 7. | me paz'a: yun ? | Should I come ? |
| 8. | tse peyiya: pa:nay gatshun ? | Will you have to go yourself ? |
| 9. | təm' h'oka: li:khith ? | Was he able to write ? |
| 10. | su yetsh'a: yo:r yun ? | Would he like to come here ? |

These questions (1—10) are formed from the below given underlying statements (1a—10a) by adding the question marker **a:** to the auxiliary or helping verb. Where there is no auxiliary verb or a helping verb in the underlying structure, the marker is added to the main verb :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 a | yi cha kita:b | This is (the) book |
| 2 a | Shur o:s asa:n | The child was laughing |
| 3 a | b*i* par*i* kita:b | I will read the book |
| 4 a | ra:m*i* yiyi az | Ram will come today |
| 5 a | b*i* hek*i* yith | I can come |
| 6 a | tse chuth akhba:r pormut | You have read the news paper |
| 7 a | me pazi yun | I should come |
| 8 a | tee peyiy pa:nay gatshun | You will have to go your self |
| 9 a | tem' h'ok li:khith | He could write |
| 10 a | su yetshi yo:r yun | He would like to come here |

It may be seen from the examples given above, in transforming' the underlying statement into a 'yes—no question', the question marker **a:** is added to one of the two types of verbs : (1) a helping verb or a modal as an optional element of the auxiliary (2) if no helping verb or modal is used, the marker is added to the main verb. When **a:** is added as a suffix to the verb root certain phonological changes do occur. e.g.,

cha + a: = cha: yi + a: = yiya :

It has been said above that the yes—no questions' normally elicit a 'yes' or 'no' as an answer. The answer to most of such questions can be given by paraphrasing the questions themselves in underlying declarative sentences begining with **yi chu poz ki** 'It is true that' or **yi kath chan*i*ki** 'This is not the case that'.

The short answer 'yes' or 'no' may optionally be followed by a declarative statement. For example :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Q : | yi cha: kita:b ? | Is this the book |
| | a: (yi cha kita:b) | yes (this is the book) |
| | nə (yi chan*i* kita:b) | No (this is not the book) |
| | shur o:sa: asa:n ? | Was the child laughing ? |
| | a: (shr o:s asa:n) | yes (the boy was laughing) |
| | nə (shur o:sn*i* asa:n) | No (the boy was not laughing) |

## 5.2. Question-Word Questions :

The question-word questions form a second major category of questions in Kashmiri. This type of question always carries a question-word. The question-word type questions ask for specific piece of information and not just 'yes' or 'no' type answers. The question words which are used in this type of questions are as follows : **kus (kam, kɔs, kamɨ)** 'who', **'k'a:** what **k'uth** 'how', **kot (kati, katinas, kat'ath)** 'where', **kəts** 'how many' **ko:tah** 'how much, **kar** 'when', **k'a:zi** 'why' etc.

It is important to point out here that some of the question words have co-occurrence restrictions. For instance, the forms of interrogative pronoun 'who' in Kashmiri has co-occurrence relationship with animate human noun phrases. Furthermore, the forms of the interrogative pronoun 'who' in Kashmiri agree in number and gender with the subject noun phrase :

| Masculine | | Feminine | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sg. | Pl. | Sg. | Pl. | |
| kus | kam | kɔs | kamɨ | 'who' |

yi kus chu ? 'who is he' ? yim kam chi ? 'who are they ?
yi kɔs cha ? who is she ? yimɨ kamɨ cha ? who are they

Similarly, the question-word **k'a:** 'what' in Kashmiri has co-occurrence relationship with non-animate noun phrases, **kot, (kati katinas, kat'ath)** 'where' with adverbs of place, **kar** 'when' with adverbs of time, **k':a:zi** 'why' with adverbs of reason etc.

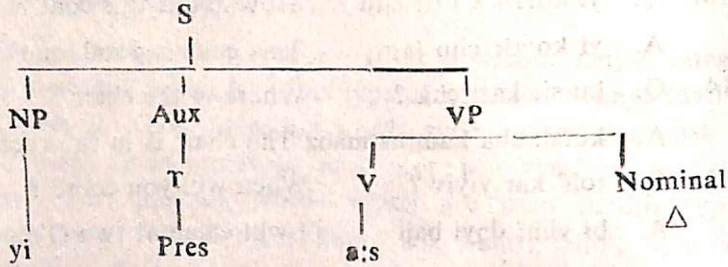
As said above, the question-word questions elicit a piece of information which may be related to any of the following , a noun phrase, an adjective, an adverb of reason etc. For instance, compare the following questions and answers :

11. Q. yi kus chu ? — who is he ?
    A. yi chu ᴅᴀᴋᴛᴀʀ — He is a doctor
12. Q. yi k'**a:** chu ? — what is this
    A. yi chu **me:z.** — This is a table

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13. | Q. | yi ko:ᴛh k'uth chu ? | How about this coat ? |
| | A. | yi ko:ᴛh chu **ja:n** | This coat is good one |
| 14. | Q. | kursi: kati cha ? | Where is the chair ? |
| | A. | kursi: cha **kamras manz** | The chair is in the room |
| 15. | Q. | toh' kar yiyiv ? | When will you come ? |
| | A. | bɨ yimɨ dɔyi baji | I will come at two O'clock |
| 16. | Q. | su k'a:zi a:vnɨ ? | Why didnot he come ? |
| | A. | su a:vnɨ tik'a:zi **su o:s bema:r** | He did not come because he was sick |
| 17. | Q. | lu:r kɨ:ts zi:ᴛh cha ? | How long is the stick |
| | A. | lu:r cha **tso:r phuᴛ** zi:ᴛh | The stick is four feeet long |

The underlined words or phrases provide the pieces of information which the questions elicit in the above examples. The underlined words and phrases may be used as short answers which provide complete information.

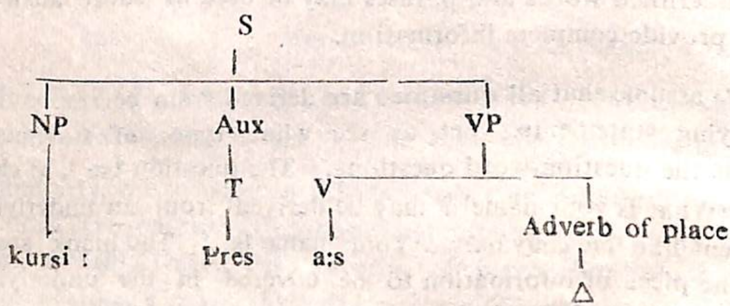
We assume that all questions are derived from corresponding underlying statements. Let us see what type of statements underlie the question-word questions. The question tse **k'a: chuy na:v** ? 'What is your name' ? may be derived from an underlying statement like '**tse chuy na:v**...'Your name is... The blank space is for the piece of information to be covered in the underlying structure. Thus the underlying structure of the statement must contain one element that has grammatical function and no lexical content. An Appropriate question-word replaces the element which asks for a specific piece of information. The grammatical element is an obligatory element in the underlying structure which can be replaced by an appropriate question-word in the question-word questions. The question-word is later moved to the position after the subject and before the main verb. The question-word question **yi kus chu** ? 'who is he' may be derived from the following underlying structure :




In the underlying structure, the grammatical element (Nominal, in this case) is replaced by the question-word **kus** 'who'. The question-word question is deived after moving the question-word in the following manner :

| 1 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 3 | 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| yi | chu | kus | → | yi | kus | chu |

The question **kursi: kati cha ?** may also be derived from the following underlying strueture :




| 1 | 2 | 3 | | 1 | 3 | 2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kursi | cha | kati | → | kursi | kati | cha |

# Coordinate Conjunction

6.0. In this section an attempt will be made to discuss *different types of coordinate conjunction structures in Kashmiri,* and to point out some structural and transformational constraints on such structures which can be conjoined coordinately with the morpheme *ti* 'and'.

6.1. Conjunctions with *ti* 'and' are formed by transformations which conjoin two or more sentences with the morpheme *ti* and allow deletion of 'identical' elements, if any, in the conjoined sentences. The general rule schema for conjunction reduction conjoins the constituents if they are of the same type and have the same function in a sentence. For instance, two noun phrases cannot be conjoined if one is a subject noun phrase and the other an object noun phrase. There are three types of coordinate conjunction structures possible in Kashmiri. Examples are given below :

1 ləʀkan pər kita:b *ti* ko:ri li:ch ci:ʀh'
The boy read a book and the girl wrote a letter

2 ra:jan *ti* shi:lan por akhba:r
Raj and Shiela read the newspaper

3 ra:jan por akhba:r *ti* sh*i*lan ti
Raj read the newspaper and Shiela did too.

Sentence (1) is derived from the following two sentences :

1 a. ləʀkan pər kita:b    The boy read a book

2 b. ko:ri li:ch ciʀh'    The girl wrote a letter

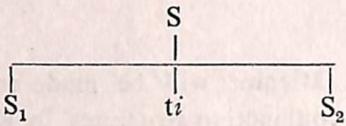
The sentence (2) is derived from the following two sentences :

2 a. ra:jan por akhba:r    Raj read the newspaper

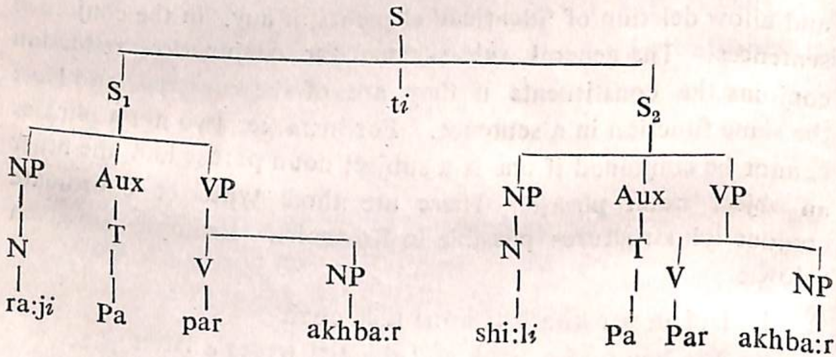
2 b. shi:lan por akhaba:r    Shiela read the newspaper

Sentence (3) is a paraphrase of sentence (2) and is also derived from the same pair of sentences.

All three types of coordinate conjunction structures can be derived from the following tree-structure :




It is obvious that sentences of the type (1) are formed simply by conjoining the two sentences by the coordinate conjunction morpheme. The deep structure of the sentences (2) and (3) can be diagrammed as below :




Sentences (2) and (3) are derived by a series of transformations. For deriving sentence (2), the identical elements are deleted from the second sentence, and the final transformations move the subject of the second sentence and the conjoining morpheme *ti* to from a compound noun phrase. In order to derive sentence (3), an optional reduction rule deletes the indentical elements in the second sentence, and final transformations add a morpheme *ti* 'also' after the subject of the second sentences. Similarly, the following conjoined sentences are derived from the pairs of sentences given under each sentence :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | ləʀki *ti* ko:ri chi yiva:n | The boys and girls are coming |
| 4 a | ləʀki chi yiva:n | The boys are coming |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4 b. | ko:ri chi yiva:n | The girls are coming |
| 5. | mohnan kh'av bat*i* t*i* tsu:NTh | Mohan ate food and (an)apple |
| 5 a. | mohnan kh'av bat*i* | Mohan ate his meals |
| 5 b. | mohnan kh'av tsu:NTh | Mohan ate an apple |
| 6. | yim sang*i*tari chi bəD' t*i* məd*i*r | These oranges are big ones and sweet |
| 6 a. | yim sang*i*tari chi bəD' | These oranges are big ones |
| 6 b. | yim sang*i*tar*i* chi məd*i*r' | These oranges are sweet |
| 7. | tsi hekakh yi kə:m a:sə: ni: sa:n t*i* jal*i*d kərith | You can do this woık early and fast |
| 7 a. | ts*i* hekakh yi kə:m a:sə: ni: sa:n kərith | You can do this work easily |
| 7 b. | ts*i* hekakh yi kə:m jal*i*d kərith | You can do this work fast |

6.2. In some ambiguous sentences with **t*i***, there are two possible derivations of the sentences. The morpheme **t*i*** occurs in sentences with unit plural NPs at the phrase structural level and in sentence conjunctions at the transformational level. Consider the following examples :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | sha:nt*i* t*i* shi:l*i* a:s*i* sənima vucha:n | Shanta and shiela were watchlng a movie |
| 9. | mohnan kor ra:mas t*i* ra:jas sa:l | Mohan invited Ram and Raj |

Two readings of the sentences —(a) and (b) below, interpret the compound subject or object as one unit and as a conjunction of the separate elements respectively :

8 a Shanta and Shilela were watching a movie together

8 b Shanta and Shiela were watching movies separtely

9 a Ram and Raja were Invited together by Mohan

9 b Ram and Raja were invited separately by Mohan

Thus, there are two possible and the deep structure will be different for each meaning. However, if certain optional devices are used along with sentence conjunctions, sentences like (8) and (9) will not remain ambiguous. Items like yikivaTi/si:th' si:th' "together", **prath ka:Nh** "every one" **alag alag** "separately" **ti** "also" etc., can be introduced by transformations to avoid the ambiguity in such sentences. For example :

10 a sha:Ntan ti shi:lan vuch alag alag mu:vi:
Shanta and Shiela saw the movie separately.

10 b mohnan kor ra:mas ti Ra:jas alag alag sa:l
Mohan invited Rama and Raja separately (on two different occasions)

6.2.1 It is important to note that certain compound noun phrases and verb phrases are not ambiguous and they always form one unit in their deep structure. For example :

11. mili hind'av mozu:rav ti milihind' mə:likan kor samjo:ti
The mill workers and the owner of the mill came to an agreement

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | te:ji ti ali: mi:l' ba:gas manz | Tej and Ali met in the garden |
| 13. | kishini ti nanisi: chi hishay | Kishna and Nansi are alike |
| 14. | tsoT ti malə:y gatshi yikivaTi, khen' | One should eat bread and cream together |
| 15. | camnan ti səli:man g'ov bə:th yikivaTi | Chaman and salim sang a song together |
| 16. | vipin ti bimla:chi ja:n ju:r' | Vipin and Bimla are a nice couple' |

The sentences (11)-(16) are not derived by conjoining the following pairs of sentences :

11 a *mili hind'av mozu:rav kor samjo:ti

11 b *mili hind' mə:l'kan kor samjo:ti

12 a *te:jɨ m'u:l ba:gas manz
12 b *əli:m'u:l ba:gas manz
13 a *kishɨnɨ chi hishiy
13 b *nanɨsɨ: chi hishy
14 a *tsoT gatshi khen' yikɨvaTɨ
14 b *malə:y gatshi khən' yikɨvaTɨ
15 a *camɨnan g'av bə:th yikɨvaTɨ
15 b *səli:man g'ov bə:th yikɨvaTi
16 a *vipin chi ja:n ju:r'
16 b *bimla: chi ja:n ju:r'

Thus it is important to maintain distinction between the sentences with unit noun phrases and sentences with separate entity plural noun phrases. The former can be produed at the phrase structural level of a grammar of Kashmiri, and the latter type by a conjunction transformation. If such a distinction is not maintained it would not be possible to account for the ambiguity of the sentences like (8) and (9) and the unambiguity of the sentences like (11)—(16).

6.2.2. It is possible to suggest that the sentences with unit noun phrasee in Kashmiri can be derived from the sentences with Adverbial phrases. For example, the sentences (11)—(15) are synonymous with the sentences (11 A)—(15 A) respectively.

11 A mili hɨnd'av mozu:rav kor mili hɨndis mə:likas sɨ:t' samjo:tɨ

The mill workers reached at an agreement with the owner of the mill.

12 A te:ji m':ul əliyas ba:gas manz
Tej met Ali in the garden

13 A kishɨnɨ chi nanɨsi hish
Kishna is like Nansi

14 A tsoT gatshi mala:yi sɨ:th' khen'
The bread should be eaten with cream

15 A camnan g'ov səli:mas sɨ:th' bə:th
Chaman sang a song with Salim

Notice that the sentence (16A) is not synonymous with (16) :

16 A *vipin chu bimla:yi s*i*:th' ja:n ju:r'

If an attempt is made to derive some phrasal canjunctions as in sentences (11)-(15) from sentences (11A)-15A) with adverbial phrases, we will not be able to account for sentences like (16). In such sentences the conjunction must occur in the base component.

6.2.3. As the sentences or parts of sentences are conjoined only in deep structure, they do not normally remain subordinate to each other. A universal fact concerning the deep structure conjunctions is that the semantic interpretation is independent of the order of conjoined elements or sentences. Eor example :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 17 | sum*i*ni t*i* sure:shan vuch phuTba:l mE:c | Suman and Suresh saw the foot-ball match' |
| 17A | sure:shan t*i* sum*i*ni vuch phuTba:l mE:c | Suresh and Suman saw the football match |
| 18 | ra:ni: chi ziTh t*i* suni:t*i* chi k*i*:NS | Rani is elder and Svnita is younger |
| 18A | suni:t*i* chi k*i*:NS t*i* rani: chi zith | Sunita is younger and Rani is elder |

Notice that the use of t*i* in deep structure in this type of conjoined independent sentences (17) and (18) is different from the one in which the second sentence depends on the first one in its deep structure. In such sentences **t*i*** is like the **t*i*** **tamipat*i*** 'and afterwards' type of conjunction morpheme in deep structure. For example :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19 | tsu:ras ləj gu:l' ti mu:d | The thief was hit by a bullet and he died |

is a paraphrase of the sentence

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20 | tsu:ras ləj gu:l' tamipat*i* mu:d | The thief was hit by a bullet and afterwards he died |

This sentence is not identical in meaning with

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21 | tsu:r mu:d *ti* tsu:ras ləj gu:l' | The thief died and the thief was hit by a bullet |

On the basis of such data it can be suggested that the conjunction morpheme **ti** should be treated differently in the two types of the sentences above. In the former type (17 and 18), it is a conjunction morpheme **ti** in deep structure and in the second type (19). it is an adverbial **ti tamipati** 'and afterwards', where **tamipati** gets deleted by some transformational rule. Notice that **tamipati** occurs only in the latter type of **ti** constructions, and cannot occur in the former type of constructions :

17 B *sumini *ti* tamipati sure:shan vuch phuTba:l mE:c

18 B *ra:ni: chi zith *ti* tamipati suni:ti chi kə:NS

6.3. It is needless to say that two or more sentences cannot be conjoined without some constraint. There are both syntactic and semantic constraints on which coordinating conjunction structures depend. As pointed out above, the transformational operation of the coordinate conjoined structures involves mainly two processes- (i) deletion of the identical elements in the second sentence and (ii) conjoining the member conjuncts with the coordinating conjunction morpheme **ti**. The notion of identity, and the nature of 'similar' or 'like' structures of member conjuncts is important and need to be studied in detail.

The occurrence of morpheme to morpheme 'identical' lexical items which may be nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, etc. in two conjoining sentences seems to be the most general condition for type II and III structures. Consider the following examples :

22 sohnan bu:z re:Diyo *ti* le:chan zi ciThi
Sohan listened to Radio and wrote two letters

23 ra:da:yi vuch khe:l *ti* krishnan sənima
Radha saw a play and Krishna a movie

24 sarilin' du:t' chi ni:j *ti* ra:ni: hinz vɔzij
Sarlas' sari is blue and Rani's is red

25 ra:man k*i*n' tsu:NTh' ra:th t*i* si:ta:yi chəl' palav
Ram sold apples yesterday, and Sita washed her clothes

26 b*i* chus dɔhay ə:Thi baji daphtar gatsha:n t*i* su chu ba:zar gatsha:n

I go to the office daily at 8 o' clock and he goes to the market.

The sentences with the identical lexical items are reduced to one in the above cited examples of conjoined structures :

22 a. **sohnan** bu:z re:Diyo
Sohan listened to Radio

22 b. **sohnan** le:chi z*i* ciThi
Sohan wrote two letters

23 a. ra:da:yi **vuch** Khe:l
Radha saw a play

23 b. krishnan **vuch** sənima-Krishna saw a movie

24 a. sar*i*l*i*n' **du:t'**chi ni:j
Sarla's sari is blue

24 b. ra:ni: h*i*nz **du:t`** ch*i* **ni:j**
Rani's sari is red

25 a. ra:man k*i*n' tsu:NTh' **ra:th**
Ram sold apples yesterday

25 b. si: ta:yi chəl' palav **ra:th**
Sita washed clothes yesterday

26 a. b*i* chus dɔhay ə:Thi baji **daphtar** gatsha:n
I go to the office daily at eight o' clock

26 b. su chu dɔhay ə:**Thi baji** ba:zar gatsha:n
He goes to the market daily at eight o' clock.

The deletable lexical items must not be merely morpheme to morpheme identical, but must be identical in meaning also. We cannot conjoin sentences with such identical morphemes or phrases which are not identical in meaning, and have different representations at the surface level. Consider the following examples :

27 a. nisa:ras log dab — Nisar fell down

27 b. nisa:ras log hoT — Nisar got soar throat

27. *nisa:ras log dab *ti* hoT

28 a. mohnas a:yi drɔkh — Mohan vomitted

28 b. mohnas a:yi neNd*i*r — Mohan felt sleepy

28. *mohnas a:yi drɔkh *ti* neNd*i*r

In these pairs of sentences **log** in the sentence 27b (**dab lagun** 'to fall down') is different from **log** in the sentence 27 b (**hoT lagun** 'to get soar throat'). Similarly, **a:yi** in the sentence 28a (**drɔkh yin'** 'to vomit') is different from **a:yi** in the sentence 28 b (**neNd*i*r yin'** 'to feel sleepy)'. Therefore these sentences cannot be conjoined. The notion of identity of reference is also important. Example :

29a. yi ku:r cha g'ava:n — This girl sings

29b. yi ku:r cha natsa:n — This girl dances

Here the subject noun phrases are morpheme to morpheme identical but they are different in reference. Hence the coordinately conjoined sentence

29. yi ku:r cha g'ava:n *ti* natsa:n This girl sings and dances

can be interpretted as the same girl sings and dances.

The conjunction morpheme *ti* conjoins sentences or parts of sentences of similar syntactic structures. The following pairs of sentences cannot be canjoined because the member conjuncts are not of the same structure or 'similar' :

30a. me cha ca:y pasand — I like tea

30b. me cha kə:m kar*i*n' pasand — I like to work

30. *me cha ca:y *ti* kə:m kar*i*n' pasand

31a. sali:m yiyi zəru:r — Salim will come definitely

31b. sali:m yiyi mohnas s*i*:th' — Salim will come with Mohan

31. *səli:m yiyi zəru:r *ti* mohnas s*i*:th'

32a. sarl*i* cha bema:r — Sarla is sick

32b. sarl*i* cha sku:las manz — Sarla is in School

32. *sarl*i* cha bema:r t*i* sku:las manz

The conjunction morpheme t*i* doesnot conjoin two or more conjuncts which are morpheme to morpheme and in reference identical e.g.,

33 a. mohnan ən' akhba:r — Mohan brought newspapers

33 b. mohnan ən' akhba:r — Mohan brought newspapers

33. *mohnan ən' akhba:r t*i* akhba:r

One member of the conjunction must not be an inclusive of the conjunction e.g.,

34 a zana:n*i* cha vɔd*i*ni — Women are standing

34 b lu:kh chi vɔd*i*ni — People are standing

34. *zana:n*i* t*i* lu:kh chi vɔd*i*ni

It is grammatical to conjoin two simple statements, two imperatives etc., but not a statement and a question, a statement and an imperative, or interrogative and an imperative, etc. Consider the following examples :

35a. mohn*i* kar yiyi ? — When will Mohan come ?

35b. toh' kar gətshiv ? — When will you go ?

35. mohn*i* kar yiyi t*i* toh' kar getshiv

36a. darva:z*i* kar band — Close the door

36b. kita:b par — Read the book

36. darva:z*i* kar band t*i* kita:b par

37a. ra:m*i* kar yiyi ? — When will Ram come ?

37b. su chu ja:n ləʀk*i* — He is a good boy

37. *ra:m*i* kar yiyi t*i* su chu ja:n ləʀk*i*

38a. toh' k'a:zi a:yiv*i* tsi:r' — Why did you come late ?

38b. darva:z*i* kəriv band — Please close the door

38. *toh' k'a:zi a:yiv*i* tsi:r' t*i* darva:z*i* kəriv band

Two or more than two sentences can be conjoined if they refer to the same general topic or share a similar 'theme'. Several types of relations between such conjuncts of conjoined sentences are possible. The senteces conjoined must follow a particular sequence of tenses, time expressions and descriptions also.

# 7

# Reduplication

7.0. In Linguistic studies, the term Reduplication is generally used to mean repetition of any Linguistic unit such as a phoneme, morpheme, word, phrase, clause or the utterance as a whole. The process of Reduplication at all these levels is very significant both from the grammatical as well as semantic point of view. The repetition types of these Linguistic units may be broadly classified under two categories: repetition at the (a) expression level, and repetition at the (b) content or semantic level. The reduplication of these Linguistic units is a very common feature found in Kashmiri. The repetition at both these levels is mainly used for emphasis, generality, itensity, or to show continuation of an act. In certain cases, the repetition of a particular Linguistic unit is obligatory. Here an attempt has been made to indicate the process of Reduplication of various Linguistic units in Kashmiri at both expression level as well as at the semantic level. Complete reduplication of morphemes, words and phrases have been discussed first. This is followed by a discussion of partial reduplication of words which are best known as Echo-words. Onomatopoeic words, which involve complete reduplicaion have also been discussed briefly.

## 7.1. Repetition at the Expression Level

At the expression level, the word classes which may be repeated include nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The repetition of single morphemes or words of all form classes are frequently used in utterances. The examples of these repetition types are given below :

*Nouns and Pronouns*

A number of nouns and pronouns are repeated in utterances very frequently :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | shur' shur' a:yi sə:riy va:pas | All the children returned |
| 2. | su chu sombra:va:n tilimi tilimi | He is collecting by pieces |
| 3. | me gav zari zari təmis vuchith | I was pained to see him |
| 4. | prath ka:Nh chu pa:nas pa:nas va:ta:n | Everybody takes care of himself |
| 5. | pə:Nsi pə:Nsi kərith sombrə:v' təm' va:riyah d'a:r | He raised lot of money penny by penny |
| 6. | yus vus tsi:r' a:v su su tuliv athi thod | Those ones who came late may raise their hands up |
| 7. | yemis yemis sku:l chu gatshun təmis təmis pazi basi khasun | Those who have to go to school should board the bus |

In the examples given above, repetition in the sentences 1, 6 and 7 is used for emphasis and generality.

*Adjectives*

Reduplication of adjectives is very frequently used in a number of cases for emphasis.

Examples :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | ja:n ja:n tsu:NTh' tsə:riv | Please sort out good apples |
| 9. | yi v'əTh v'əTh ku:r cha ka:liji para:n | This fat girl studies in a College |
| 10. | yimi cha lɔkci lɔkci ko:ri | These are small girls |
| 11. | pa:Ntsh pa:Ntsh Thu:l di prath kə:Nsi | Give five eggs each to every one |
| 12. | me chu tot tot bati khɔsh kara:n | I like hot food |
| 13. | yi z'u:Th z'u:Th ləRki chu m'a:ni ga:muk | This tall boy belongs to my Village |
| 14. | yim tshɔT' tshɔT' ləRki chi yetiy para:n | These short statured boys do study here |

Repetition in the sentences 8 and 11 is obligatory. The Reduplication in these sentences indicate plurality.

*Verbs*

In a number of grammatical constructions, the repetition of verbs in obligatory. Verbs also are reduplicated optionally in certain constructions. Following are examples of sentences where verbs are obligatorily repeated :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15. | me bu:z re:Diyo bat*i* kh'ava:n kh'ava:n | I listened to radio while eating my meals |
| 16. | asa:n asa:n tsol təmis osh ni:rith əchav kin' | His eyes were filled with tears while laughing |
| 17. | temis log dab do:ra:n do: ra: n | He fell down while running |
| 18. | su a:v gar*i* vada:n vada:n | He came home while weeping |
| 19. | phuTba:l ginda:n ginda:n log təmis khɔras | While playing football he hurt his foot |
| 20. | ca:y cava:n cava:n o:s su maji s*i*:th' kath*i* kara:n | While drinking his tea he was talking with his mother |
| 21. | təm' kor panun pa:n khara:b philm*i* vuch' vuch' | He ruined himself by watching movies |
| 22. | hat*i*baz*i* kita:b*i* pər' pər' ti chun*i* tas tasle: yiva:n | He does not feel satisfied even after reading hund reds of books |

Repetition of verbs in the above sentences is obligatory. The sentences will be ungrammatical if repetitions of the verbs are deleted.

15a *me bu:z re:Diyo bat*i* kh'ava:n
16a *asa:n tsol təmis osh ni:rith əchav kin'
17a *təmis log dab do:ra:n
18a *su a:v gar*i* vada:n

19a *phuTba:l ginda:n log təmis khɔras
20a *ca:y cava:n o:s su ma:ji s*i*th' kath*i* kara:n
21a təm' kor panun pa:n khara:b philm*i* vuch'
22a *hat*i* baz*i* kita:b*i* pər' ti chu n*i* tas tasle: yiva:n

*Adverbs*

The repetition of some adverbs is compulsory and it is optional in some cases :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 23. | yi buD*i* chu paka:n va:r*i* va:r*i* | This old man walks slowly |
| 23a | *yi buD*i* chu paka:n va:r*i* | |
| 24. | ra:m*i* chu asa:n zo:r*i* zo:r*i* | Ram laughs loudly |
| 25. | b*i* tsa:s kuThis manz lɔti lɔti | I entered the room slowly |
| 25a | *b*i* tsa:s kuThis manz lɔti | |
| 26. | suban suban cha t*i*:r a:sa:n | It is cold in the mornings |
| 27. | b*i* chus to:r gatsha:n sha:man sha:man | I go there in the evenings |
| 27a | *b*i* chus to:r gatsha:n sha:man | |
| 28. | su kəpɔ:r' kəpɔ:r a:v ? | Where from did he come ? |
| 29. | yot yot go:s, tati tati bu:z' me təm' s*i*nd' tə:ri:ph | Wherever I went, I heard good things about him |
| 30. | yapɔ:r' yapɔ:r' əs' chi paka:n tim ti chi tapɔ:r' tapɔ:r' paka:n | Where from we walk, they also take the same root |
| 31. | su chu manz*i* manz*i* yo:r yiva:n | |

*One Word Utterances*

Some types of one word utterances may also be repeated in Kashmiri. Repetition, here, is used only for emphasis or persuation. One word utterances, comprising the imperative forms of the verbs are often reduplicated. Repetition of such linguistic items indicates an extra urge or persuation of an act. Following are the examples of this type of repetition :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| gatsh gatsh | go | gətshiv gətshiv | (Please) go |
| an an | bring | əniv əniv | (Please)bring |
| ni ni | take | niyiv niyiv | (Please) take |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| di di | give | diiyiv diyiv | (Please) give |
| chal chal | wash | chəliv chəliv | (Please) wash |

Question particles are also repeated in certain situations where the person is curious to know about complete details.

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| k'a: k'a: | what | kus kus | who |
| kar kar | when | ku:t ku:t | how much |

*Clauses and Phrases*

Certain clauses or phrases are repeated in long utterances or narrations by both the speaker and the listener. The repetition of such utterances breaks the monotony of the narration, allows a pause for the listener to comprehend the situation and also provides an opportunity for the speaker to recollect the facts and to change the style of naration.

Examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| torva: phikri ? | Did you understand ? |
| bu:ziva: təhi ? | Did you listen ? |
| tamipati k'a: sapud ? | What happened afterwards ? |
| beyi k'a: sapud ? | What else did happen ? |

Clauses or phrases of the above type vary in terms of the situation, context and persons involved in conversation.

## 7.2. Repetition at the Semantic Level

Repetition at the semantic level is not an unknown feature of the Kashmiri language. Different types of examples which involve the repetition at the semantic level are mostly used to express generality. Following are different types of examples where we find the repetition at the semantic level :

7.2.1. A number of synonymic compounds illustrate the phenomena of repetition at the semantic level as given below :

| | |
|---|---|
| pə:NSi TU:Nk' | money in general |
| KOND Ka:Th | work in general |
| palav pɔsha:k | dress |
| vɔsi drɔsi | hustle and bustle |
| tsu:r tsheph | theft |
| yatsh patsh | belief |
| bə:y ba:rin' | brothers |
| tsɔNZi da:yi | female servants |
| band ba:Ndav | relatives |
| hakh hamsa:yi | neighbours |
| ba:ni baThi | pots |
| she:run pə:run | to decorate |
| tshenun phuTun | to be tired |
| kam kəli:l | less |
| hol kol | twisted |
| v'OTh pu:Th | fat |
| ə:v'ul zə:v'ul | delicate |
| m'u:Th modur | sweet |
| phuTi phra:Ti | broken pieces |
| ma:y mɔhbath | love |
| ang ə:shina:v | relatives |
| to:r təri:ki | method |
| shur' kəT' | children |
| kə:m koT | work |
| sa:d sant | saint |
| vadun rivun | to weep |
| karun kra:vun | to do |
| ralun me:lun | to mix up |

7.3. Besides the reduplication types indicated above, reduplication may be studied with reference to the words which form the basic unit for the process of reduplication. It is therefore necessary to study all types of repetitions which take place within the word as a unit. Repetition of a sequence of phonemes of the word stem may form either complete reduplication or partial reduplication. Examples of the complete reduplication within the word are as follows :

| | |
|---|---|
| gar*i*gar*i* | from house to house |
| khar*i*khar*i* | patting on animals |
| vuz*i*vuz*i* | desire |
| thar*i*thar*i* | trembling |
| maTimaTi | patting in praise or appreciation |

In certain cases vowel /*i*/ is inserted before the word which is reduplicated. e.g., :

tshraT*i*tshraT    to be in trouble

In the study of the internal composition of the word, reduplication of phonemes is very crucial. If the stem is repeated completely it is called complete reduplication and if the stem is repeated partially it is called partial reduplication.

7.3.1. *Echo Words*

Reduplication in Echo words is always partial. In Kashmiri, the process of echo-formation is very common and simple. At the semantic level, echo words give an additional meaning indicating 'generality' or the meaning of similar nature or type of thing, action, manner and quality etc., which is indicated by the original word stem. Therefore we may add 'and the like' in the gloss of the echo-words. For example : po:n' water, po:n'vo:n' 'water and the like'. In the examples given below meanings of the original words have been given.

Echo words are formed mainly by altering the first phoneme of the stem in the reduplication of the stem. This is a very common and frequent type of echo-word formation in Kashmiri. The following changes in vowels may be noted in the echo-formation :

The Initial/v/ of the word stem is replaced by /p/ in the echo word as in the following examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| və:j pə:j | ring | vath path | way |
| va:z*i* pa:z*i* | cook | va:n pa:n | shop |
| va:Ngun pa:Ngun | bringal | vɔzul pɔzul | red |
| vuchun puchun | to see | vaguv paguv | a straw mat |
| va:d*i* pa:d*i* | promise | vo:n' po:n' | shopkeeper |

The initial /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem is replaced by /v/ as in the following examples of echo-words ;

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| po:n' vo:n' | water | po:sh vo:sh | flower |
| pu:za: vu:za: | worship | pash vash | roof |
| pal val | stone | phal val | fruit |
| phot vot | basket | phand vand | deceit |
| pho:j vo:j | army | pho:ᴛu: vo:ᴛu: | photograph |
| phar var | fur | pho:n vo:n | phone |

The initial consonants other than /v/, /p/ and /ph/ of the word stem may be replaced by /v/.

Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kɔkur vɔkur | cock | ku:r vu:r | girl |
| kən' vən' | stone | khar var | donkey |
| kha:m va:m | raw | khɔr vɔr | foot |
| gər vər | watch | gagur vagur | mouse |
| gula:b vula:b | rose | co:r vo:r | dumb |
| ca:y va:y | tea | co'n v'on | to drink |
| chalun valun | to wash | cha:n va:n | carpenter |
| chon von | empty | tsu:r vu:r | thief |
| tsaᴛun vaᴛun | to cut | tshal val | deceit |
| tshor vor | empty | tsha:ɴᴅ va:ɴᴅ | search |
| jom vom | Jammu | ja:y va:y | place |
| jɔy vɔy | stream | zor vor | deaf |
| zar var | money | za:n va:n | acquaintance |
| ᴛama:ᴛar vama:ᴛar | tomatoes | ᴛa:ᴛh va:ᴛh | mat |
| ᴛ'oth voᴛh | bitter | ᴛhu:l vu:l | egg |
| ᴛha:n*i* va:n*i* | lid | danᴅ*i* vand*i* | stick |
| ᴅar var | fear | to:t*i* vo:ti | parrot |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ta:j va:j | crown | ta:r va:r | wire |
| tha:l va:l | plate | tham vam | pillar |
| thən'vən' | butter | da:ni va:ni | paddy |
| dɔd vɔd | milk | da:s va:s | servant |
| nalkɨ valkɨ | tap | nas vas | nose |
| bar var | door | batɨ vatɨ | food |
| bas vas | bus | mo:zɨ vo:zɨ | socks |
| mas vas | hair | ya:r va:r | friend |
| yaᴅ vaᴅ | belly | ye:r ve:r | wool |
| rath vath | blood | raz vaz | rope |
| ru:s vu:s | Russia | lu:r vu:r | stick |
| loᴛ voᴛ | tail | shur vur | child |
| shi:n vi:n | snow | sha:m va:m | evening |
| sa:z va:z | music | sir vir | secret |
| soth voth | bund | hash vash | mother-in-law |
| hos vos | elephant | ha:r va:r | necklace |

The initial consonant cluster is replaced by a single consonant /v/ in the echo-word. Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| tre:sh ve:sh | drinking water | drog vog | expensive |
| srog vog | cheap | dro:t vo:t | sickle |
| gra:kh va:kh | customer | pra:n va:n | garlic |
| pras vas | press | pron von | fair |

If the word stem starts with a vowel, /v/ is inserted in the initial position of the echo-word. Examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| əch vəch | eye | ə:s və:s | mouth |
| amb vamb | mango | ə:nɨ və:nɨ | mirror |
| a:dath va:dath | habit | isla:h visla:h | shave |
| i:d vi:d | Id | era:dɨ vera:dɨ | determination |
| e:la:n ve:la:n | announcement | o:l vo:l | nest |
| on von | blind | umɨr vumɨr | age |

7.4. *Onomatopoeic words*

There exists an important referential relationship between the form and meaning of lexical items. In certain cases the sound sequence of the word in itself denotes the particular meaning of the form. In such examples the utterances of lexical items by themselves sound the meaning they stand for. Such forms of lexical items are known as onomatopoeic. In the 'ono' word, the sound of the word has a special significance which illustrates the mening. The onomatopoeic words represent an imitation of a particular sound or imitation of an action along with the sound, etc. Some ono words are reduplicated and others are not. Here are the examples of those, onomatopoeic words which are reduplicated. In the following examples, there is a complete reduplication :

| | |
|---|---|
| k*i*r k*i*r | squeak of doors, windows etc. |
| g*i*r g*i*r | noise of the running of a vehicle |
| Thin' Thin' | noise of a bell |
| g*i*Th g*i*Th | noise of the drinking of water |
| ci:riv ci:riv | twittering of birds |
| TikTik | the ticking of watch |
| Dum Dum | beating of drums |
| p*i*r p*i*r | unnecessary talking |
| pa:N pa:N | noise of horn |
| thu: thu: | spitting |
| bak bak | unnecessary and constant talking |
| vɔph vɔph | barking of a dog. |

# 8

# Kinship Terms

8.0. The kinship terms in a language are understood and used in a particular cultural context. In the study of kinship terms, it is, therefore, important to keep in view the cultural or sociological patterns of a given society in which these terms are used. In this section an attempt will be made to classify the kinship terms in Kashmiri into two broad categories : (1) consanguineal and (2) affinal. The dimensions of (i) generation (ii) lineal (direct ancestors and direct discedents) vs. collateral (kinsmen discended from one's own ancestors i.e. uncles, brothers, nephews etc.) and (iii) sex though important in the study of kinship terms, have not been described separately in the current study. While presenting the description of kinship terms, modes of address which are closely related with the kinship terms have also been given.

## 8.1. Consanguineal kinship terms

The Consanguineal kinship terms may be classified as closest blood relations, and distant blood relations. In the distant blood relations, various types of categories are possible.

### 8.1.1. Closest blood relations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| mo:l | F (father) | mə:j | M (mother) |
| bo:y | B (brother) | beni | Si (sister) |
| necuv | So (son) | ku:r | D (daughter) |

### 8.1.2. Distant blood relations

The following kinship terms are used for distant kinsmen :

| | |
|---|---|
| buDibab | FF, MF (grand father) |
| na:n' | FM, MM (grand mother) |

| | |
|---|---|
| ma:s | MSi (mother's sister) |
| pɔph | FSi (father's sister) |
| ma:m | MB (mother's brother) |
| pet*i*r | FB (father's brother) |
| benth*i*r | SiSo (sister's son) |
| benz*i* | SiD (sister's daughter) |
| ba:pəth*i*r | BSo (brother's son) |
| bav*i*z*i* | BD (brother's daughter) |

**8.1.3. Compound kinship terms**

A number of compound kinship terms are formed by adding modifiers and/or affixes to the base kinship terms. For example suffixes **baD*i*** or **jad*i*** are added to **buDibab** aud **na:n'** to denote the kinship terms which are more remote in geneological distance :

| | |
|---|---|
| baD*i* buDibab | FFF, FMF, MFF,MMF (great grand father) |
| baD*i*na:n' | FFM, FMM, MFM, MMM (great grand mother) |
| jad*i* buDibab | FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF (great grand father) |

Similarly, certain modifiers in compound constructions are used to denote another type of geneological relationship :

| | |
|---|---|
| petr*i* buDibab | FFB, MFB |
| petr*i* na:n' | FFBW, MFBW |

The modifiers **pitur** (m) and **pit*i*r** (f) are used to denote the first cousin relationship as in the following examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pitur bo:y | FBSo | pitur ma:n | MFBSo |
| pitur pet*i*r | FFBSo | pit*i*r beni | FBD |
| pit*i*r ma:s | MFBD | pit*i*r pɔph | FFBD |

**tur** (m) and **t*i*r** (f) suffixes are added to certain kinship terms which change them into modifiers in some examples. These modifiers are used to specify remote geneological relationship, as in the following examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| mam*i*tur bo:y | MBSo | ma:s*i*tur bo:y | MSiSo |
| pɔph*i*tur bo:y | FSiSo | mam*i*t*i*r beni | MBD |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ma:sɨtɨr beni | MSiD | ma:sɨtur ma:m | MMSiSo |
| ma:sɨtɨr ma:s | MMSiD | pɔphɨtur ma:m | MFSiSo |
| pɔphɨtɨr pɔph | FMBD | pɔphɨtɨr beni | FSiD |
| ma:mɨtur ma:m | MMBSo | ma:mɨtɨr ma:s | MMBD |

The modifiers **pitur** (m) and **pitɨr** (f) can also be used with these terms to denote further remote geneological relationship, as in the following examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| pitur ma:mɨtur bo:y | MFBSoSo |
| pitur ma:sɨtur bo:y | MFBDSo |
| pitur pɔphɨtur bo:y | FFBDSo |
| pitɨr ma:mɨtɨr beni | MFBSoD |
| pitɨr ma:sɨtɨr beni | MFBDD |
| pitɨr pɔphɨtɨr beni | FFBDD |

The modifier **vo:rɨ** 'step' is used with some geneological kinship terms to mark remote geneological relationship as in the following examples :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| vo:rɨ mo:l | step F | vo:rɨ mə:j | step M |
| vo:rɨ bo:y | step B | vo:rɨ beni | step Si |
| vo:rɨ necuv | step So | vo:ri ku:r | step D |

**vo:rɨ** may be used with distant relatives also :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| vo:rɨ petɨr | F step B | vo:rɨ ma:m | M step B |
| vo:rɨ pɔph | F step Si | vor:ɨ buᴅibab | F step F, M step F |
| vo:rɨ na:n' | F step M, M step M | | |

Certain kinship terms are formed with the help of the genitive markers of **sund** and **hund**, as in the following examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| neciv' sund necuv | SoSo |
| neciv' sɨndis neciv' sund necuv | SoSoSo |
| mə:l' sund mo:l | FF |
| mə:l' sɨndis mə:l' sund mo:l | FFF |
| ko:ri hɨnz ku:r | DD |
| ko:ri hɨnzi ko:ri hɨnz ku:r | DDD |

Such phrases are generally used for indicating the kinship relations explicitly. They cover those relations where no specific terms are used.

### 8.2. Affinal kinship terms

Affinal kinship terms are those which represent the kinship relations as a result of marriage. Affinal kinship terms may also be classified in different sub-categories. There is more than one kinship term used for some kinsmen. Following are the affinal kinship terms :

8.2.1. 'Husband' and 'wife' are closest affinal kinsmen. Following are the kinship terms used to mark this relationship :

| | |
|---|---|
| kha:vand/ru:n/bartha:/kha:nda:r | H (husband) |
| zana:n/kɔlay/trɨy/kha:nda:ren' | W (wife) |

**ru:n** and **zana:n** are very common kinship terms used by all the communities of kashmir. **bartha:** and **trɨy** are mostly used by Kashmiri Hindus. The terms **kha:nda:r** and **kha:nda:ren'** denote the ownership of household. The man who is the head of the family is called **kha:nda:r** and the woman who is the head of the family is called **kha:nda:ren'**. These terms are generally understood in the sense of 'husband' and 'wife' respectively.

8.2.2. Following are the kinship terms associated with the affinal category :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| druy | HB | drɨyka:kan' | HBW |
| h'ohar | HF,WF | hash | HM, WM |
| d'a:rthɨr | HBSo | za:m | HSi |
| zə:miyi | HSiH | be:mɨ | SiH |
| həhar | WB | hohvɨr'ba:y | WBW |
| sa:l | WSi | sə: juv | WSiH |
| zə:m'thur | HSiSo | zə:mizɨ | HSiD |
| za:mɨtur | DH | benzɨza:mtur | SiDH |
| nɔʀh | SoW | pɔphuv | FSiH |
| ma:suv | MSiH | | |

8.2.3. The prefixes **baDi** can be added to **h'ohar** and **hash** to denote a distant relationship :

baDih'ohar HFF, WFF,HMF, WMF
baDihash HMM, WMM, HFM, WFM

8.2.4. The modifiers **pitur** (m), **pitir** (f) and **vo:ri** 'step' are added to the kinship terms in 8.2.2. and 8.2.3. for indicating distant relationship as in the following examples :

pitur druy HFBSo
pitur/petiri h'ohar HFB, WFB
pitir/petiri hash HFBW, WFBW
pitir za:m HFBD
pitur be:mi FBDH
pitur baDih'ohar HFFB, WFFB
pitir baDihash HMFBW, WMFBW
vo:ri druy H step B
vo:ri be:mi step SiH
vo:ri hash H step M, W step M

Similarly the modifiers of the kinship terms like **pɔphitur** (m), **pɔphitir** (f), **ma:mitur** (m), **ma:mitir** (f)' **masitur** (m) and **ma:sitir**(f) may be added to the affinal kinship terms described in 8.2.2. and 8.2.3. above in order to denote distant relationship as in the following examples :

pɔphitur druy HFSiSo
pɔphitir driyka:kan' HFSiSoW
pɔphitur be:mi FSiDH
pɔphitir bəyka:kan' FSiSoW
ma:mitur həhar WMBSo
ma:mitir sa:l WMBD
ma:mitur se:juv WMBDH
ma:mitir za:m HMBD
ma:mitur zə:miyi HMBDH
ma:situr druy HMSiSo

The kinship terms **ma:m**, **pɔph**, and **ma:s** are added as modifiers to the affinal kinship terms of **h'ohar** 'father-in-law' and

**hash** 'mother-in-law', in order to mark the distant relationship. The vowel /*i*/ is suffixed to the kinship terms for making them modifiers, as in the following examples :

| | |
|---|---|
| pɔph*i* h'ohar | HFSiH, WFSiH |
| pɔph*i* hash | HFSi, WFSi |
| ma:m*i* h'ohar | HMB, WMB |
| ma:m*i* hash | HMBW, WMBW |
| pet*i*r*i* h'ohar | HFB, WFB |
| pet*i*r*i* hash | HFBW, WFBW |
| ma:s*i* h'ohar | HMSiH, WMSiH |
| ma:s*i* hash | HMSi, WMSi |

There are a few common affinal kinship terms used to mark the relationship between the parental families of the wife and husband.

| | |
|---|---|
| son' | DHF, SoWF |
| sɔn'an | DHM, SoWM |
| son' gobur | DHyB, SoWyB |
| son'ku:r | DHySi, SoWySi |

**son'** is also used for the 'in-laws' of a son or daughter. Even sister's or brother's in-laws are termed as **son'**. The term indicates the relationship between the two families, the offsprings of whom have entered into a wedlock. **sɔn'uтh karun** is the phrase used for entering into this relationship by two families, by performing a wedlock of their off-spring in each other's family.

The modifier **mang*i*t*i*** 'adopted' is used with a restricted number of kinship terms to denote a close relationship. For instance,

| | |
|---|---|
| mang*i*t*i* necuv | adopted So |
| mang*i*t*i* ku:r | adopted D |

**mang*i*t*i*** as a modifier is used only with **necuv** 'son' and ku:r 'daughter.' Though indicating very close relationship, it cannot be placed under the category of blood relationship.

The modifiers **an*i*hu:r** 'unmarried' (m.s.), **anihi:r'** (m.p.), **an*i*hərish** (f.s.), **an*i*hərishi** (f.p.) are used with certain kinship terms to indicate the marital status of a person, e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| an*i*hu:r necuv/ləʀk*i* | unmarried son/boy |
| an*i*h*i*:r' neciv'/ləʀk*i* | unmarried sons/boys |
| an*i*hərish ku:r | unmarried daughter/girl |
| an*i*hərishi ko:ri | unmarried daughters/girls |

The modifiers of **ne:tr*i* gra:kh** married (m.s.), **ne:tr*i* gra:kan'** (f.s.), **hər'sho:mut** (m.s.) **hər'shə:m*i*t'**, (f.s.) and **hər'shə:mats*i*** (f. p.) are used with kinship terms to indicate marital status. e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| ne:tr*i*gra:kh necuv | married So |
| ne:tr*i*gra:kan' ku:r | married D |
| hər' sho:mut necuv | married So |
| hər'shə:mit' neciv' | married So |
| hər'shə:m*i*ts ku:r | married D |
| hər'shə:mats*i*: ko:ri | married D |

These modifiers may also be used independently to denote the marital status of a person in context.

Certain terms are used to denote that a man or a woman is married and has children also. They may be used both independently as well as modifiers. For example :

| | |
|---|---|
| shur' vo:l/shur'mur' vo:l | The man having children |
| shur' va:jen'/shur'mur' vajen' | The women having children |

There are several terms related with the marital status of a person which denote an important relationship with particular families e. g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| ho:hvur | man's in-laws, wife's parents' home |
| və:r'uv | husband's home, woman's in-laws |
| ma:l'un | woman's parents' home |

**baᴅ*i*** prefix is added to **ho:hvur** and **və:r'uv** to denote a distant relationship in a family. e.g.,

| | |
|---|---|
| **baᴅ*i*** ho:hvur | wife's mother's parents' home |
| **bəᴅ*i*** və:r'uv | husband's mother's parents' home |

8.3. The modes of address in Kashmiri are closely related with kinship terms. Different types of modes of address are used among kinsmen. We will here indicate only a few modes of address which show the relationship with the kinship terms.

8.3.1. Certain honorific suffixes are added to kinship terms in order to form modes of address. The resulting modes of address undergo certain phonological changes also. e.g.,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| bo:y+TO:Th | = | bə:y TO:Th |
| bo:y+sə:b | = | bə:y sə:b |
| bo:y+ji: | = | bə:yji: |
| bo:y+la:l | = | bə:yla:l |
| bo:y+ja:n | = | bə:yja:n |
| bo:y+ra:j*i* | = | bə:yra:j*i* |
| bo:y+gash*i* | = | bə:yga:sh*i* |
| bo:y+jigur | = | bə:yjigur |

In the examples given above, different honorific suffixes are added to the kiniship term **bo:y** 'brother' while changing it into modes of address The modes of address formed are used not only for an elder brother but may be used for cousins, uncles and other elder males or for the persons for whom respect is intended. Sometimes, when an adult addresses his elder brother or relation with a particular mode, his children use the same mode of address for the same person. Therefore, we find persons using these terms for distant relatives as well.

8.3.2. Similarly, the following honorific suffixes may be added to **beni** 'sister' while forming modes of address :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| beni + Tə:Th | = | beniTə:Th |
| beni + gə:sh | = | benigə:sh |
| beni + d'ad | = | benid'ad |
| beni + jig*i*r | = | benijig*i*r |
| beni + ji : | = | ben'ji : |

These modes of address may be used not only for elder sister but for other relations of cousins etc., as well for indicating sisterly affection or respect.

8.3.3. The following honorific suffixes are added to **ma:m** MB and **ma:man'** MBW for changing them into modes of address :

| | |
|---|---|
| ma:m + TO:Th | ma:mɨ TO:Th |
| ma:man'+jigɨr | ma:man'jigɨr |
| ma:m + ji: | ma:ma:ji: |

These modes of address are used for distant kinsmen on the mother's side, besides the real MB and MBW.

8.3.4. There are a number of modes of address used independently for elder and younger kinsmen. It is not possible to formulate definite rules in their use. Each term may be used for more than one kinsmen depending on the acquired habit of the speaker. Some of these terms are given below :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bab | F, FF, eB | ga:shɨ | F, FB, B |
| la:lɨ (sə:b) | F, FF, eB | TO:Th | F, FB, eB |
| Ta:Thi (sə:b) | F, FB, eB | bo:bji : | F, EB, eB |
| ka:kh | P, FB, eB | ka: kan' | M, FBW |
| mə:j | M | ba:bi: | eBW, M, FBW |
| d'ad | M, MM, FM | Tə:Th/Tə:Thi: | Si, BW, D |
| jigɨr | eSi, FSi, MSi, M | di:di: | eSi |

As indicated above the modes of address are used in a liberal sense. Modes of address do not differentiate the distinctions among real and cousin, blood relation and affinal etc. Some modes of address may be used not only in distant relations but also for showing respect and affection to a person; who is not a kinsmen. For instance, friends' wife may be called **ba:bi**; a friend's sister may be called **beni gə:sh, jigɨr** etc.

# 9

## Lexical Borrowings

9.0. In this section an attempt has been made to study Persian lexical borrowings in Kashmiri at different Linguistic levels. In the present study, Persian lexical borrowings include those lexical items also which are borrowed originally from Arabic into Persian. It is not certain that Arabic lexical items have been borrowed in Kashmiri only through Persian; there may have been certain instances of direct borrowing as well.

### 9.1. Phonology

Persion borrowed lexical items have undergone various phonological changes in Kashmiri. Some phonological changes of vowels and consonants are briefly discussed below.

#### 9.1.1. *Vowel changes*

The following vowel changes may be noted in the case of borrowed lexical items from Persian into Kashmiri :

Consonant clusters in the final position are broken by inserting vowels /i/or/u/ in borrowed lexical items. Examples :

| *Persian* | *Kashmiri* | | *Persian* | *Kashmiri* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| darj | dar*i*j | 'include' | barg | bər*i*g | 'leaf' |
| rasm | ras*i*m | 'cutom' | sabz | sab*i*z | 'green' |
| mard | mar*i*d | 'male' | nazm | naz*i*m | 'poem' |
| abr | obur | 'cloud | harf | haruph | 'a letter of alphabet' |

The lower-mid vowel /a/ changes into /ə/, and /o/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| barg | bər*i*g | 'leaf' | mahal | məhal | 'palace' |
| abr | obur | 'cloud' | | | |

The low central long vowel /a:/ changes into mid central vowel/ə:/ if it is followed by a consonant and the vowel /i/ or /i:/.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a:ba:bi: | a:bə:di: | 'population' | ta:ri:kh | tə:ri:kh | 'date' |
| a:jiz | ə:jiz | 'fed up' | ta:ki:d | tə:ki:d | 'to insist' |
| ta:vi:z | tə:vi:z | 'amulet' | xa:tir | khə:tir | 'treatment' |
| xa:li: | khə:li: | 'empty' | ja:gi:r | jə:gi:r | 'estate' |
| na:zir | nə:zir | 'an official' | ma:lish | mə:lish | 'massage' |
| ra:zi: | rə:zi: | 'willing' | ha:zir | hə:zir | 'present' |
| va:ris | və:ris | 'heir' | xa:lis | khə:lis | 'only' |
| xa:rish | khə:rish | 'a skin disease' | ɢaliban | gə:liban | 'probably' |

The low central long vowel /a:/ changes into high central vowel /ɨ/ in the final position of words :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ta:za: | ta:zɨ | 'fresh' | ka:rxa:na: | ka:rkha:nɨ | 'factory' |
| kharca: | kharcɨ | 'expense' | tama:sha: | tama:shɨ | 'a show' |
| tarjama: | tarjamɨ | 'translation' | zila: | zilɨ | 'district' |
| guma:shta: | guma:shtɨ | 'clerk' | parda: | pardɨ | 'veil' |

Front vowels /i/ and /e/ change into /yi/ and /ye/ respectively in the initial position :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| isba:t | yisba:th | 'prove | itiha:d | yitiha:d | 'unity' |
| itifa:q | yitipha:kh | 'chance' | istima:l | yistima:l | 'use' |
| imka:n | yimka:n | 'possibility' | e:tiba:r | ye:tiba:r | 'belief' |

The high back vowel /u/ changes into low back vowel /ɔ/:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xuda: | khɔda:h | 'God' | guna: | gɔna:h | 'sin' |
| muhta:j | mɔhta:j | 'needy' | ɢula:m | gɔla:m | 'servant' |
| surma: | sɔrmɨ | 'collyrium' | gula:b | gɔla:b | 'rose' |

The high back vowel /u/ changes into /vɔ/ in the initial position :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| usta:d | vɔsta:d | 'master' | umi:d | vɔme:d | 'hope' |

The dipthong /au/ is replaced by the vowel /o:/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| mauqa: | mo:kɨ | 'opportunity' | daur | do:r | 'period' |
| naukar | no:kar | 'servant' | | | |

**9.1.2. Consonant changes**

The following changes in consonants may be noted in persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri :

The uvular stop /q/ is replaced by velar stop /k/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| qad | kad | 'height' | qara:r | kara:r | 'rest' |
| qalam | kalam | 'pen' | naql | nakɨl | 'copy' |
| maqa:m | muka:m | 'place' | baqa:ya: | baka:yɨ | 'balance' |
| yaqi:n | yaki::h | 'belief' | burqa: | burkɨ | 'veil' |

The velar fricative /x/ is replaced by velar stop /kh/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| xa:rish | khə:rish | 'itch' | xa:s | kha:s | 'particular' |
| xa:k | kha:kh | 'dust' | xa:ka: | kha:kɨ | 'a sketch' |
| xa:ki: | khə:k' | 'dusty' | xa:m | kha:m | 'raw' |
| xa:mo:sh | kha:mo:sh | 'silent' | xabar | khabar | 'news' |
| xara:b | khara:b | 'bad' | xush | khɔsh | 'glad' |

The voiced velar fricative /ɢ/ is replaced by velar stop /g/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɢula:m | gɔla:m | 'servant' | ɢari:b | gari:b | 'poor' |
| ba:ɢ | ba:g | 'garden' | ɢam | gam | 'sorrow' |
| ɢali:z | gəli:z | 'dirty' | da:ɢ | da:g | 'spot' |

The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ changes into voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /ph/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| afsar | aphsar | 'officer' | faqi:r | phaki:r | 'beggar' |
| daftar | daphtar | 'office' | ɢaflat | gaphlath | 'neglect' |

The voiceless unaspirated dental stop /t/ is replaced by /th/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ɢalat | galath | 'wrong' | zahmat | zəhmath | 'trouble' |
| tija:rat | tija:rath | 'business' | minnat | minath | 'obligation' |
| a:dat | a:dath | 'habit' | sharbat | sharbath | 'juice' |
| eba:dat | yeba:dath | 'prayer' | hara:rat | hara:rath | 'heat' |
| harkat | harkath | 'movement' | hazrat | hazrath | 'sir' |

The voiceless unaspirated velar stop /k/ is replaced by /kh/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| na:zuk | no:zukh | 'delicate' | shari:k | shari.kh | 'partner' |
| maza:k | maza:kh | 'joke' | ca:la:k | ca:la:kh | 'clever' |
| po:sha:k | po:sha:kh | 'dress' | pa:k | pa:kh | 'pure' |

The dental unaspirated voiced stop /d/ is inserted in the following examples :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bara:bari: | bara:bardi | 'equality' | tanu:r | tandu:r | 'oven' |

The dental unaspirated stop /t/ is lost when it is preceded by alveolar fricative /s/ or palatal /sh/ :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a:bgo:sht | a:bgo:sh | 'meat soup' | ka:shtka:r | ka:shka:r | 'peasant' |
| ya:da:sht | ya:da:sh | 'memory' | mast | mas | 'intoxicated' |
| dastkhat | daskhat | 'signatures' | zabardast | zabardas | 'strong' |

The bilabial semi-vowel /v/ is lost if it is preceded by a consonant :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| darkhva:st | darkha:s | 'petition' | barkhva:st | barkha:s | 'adjourn' |
| khva:b | kha:b | 'dream' | | | |

The last consonant in a lexical item followed by a vowel /i:/ is palatalized and the vowel /i:/ is later dropped :

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ba:zi: | bə:z' | 'game' | sava:ri: | savə:r' | 'ride' |
| kursi: | kuris' | 'chair' | nisha:ni: | nishə:n' | 'betrothal' |

## 9.2 Morphology

Two main devices of affixation and compounding of the Persianized Kashmiri word-formation are briefly indicated here.

### 9.2.1. *Affixation*

Affixation of the morphemes may be divided into two categories— (1) prefixation of morphemes and (2) suffixation of morphemes.

Persian prefix +Kashmiri stem :

be—(in the sense of 'without') : bepatsh 'untrustworthy', bezuv 'without life' bevəti:r 'without manners,'

**ba:**—(in the sense of 'with') : ba:darɨm 'with religious piety'

**har**—(in the sense of 'every'): harka:ɴh 'every one', harja:yi 'every place'

**bad**—(in the sense of 'bad') : badza:th 'bad character'

**kam**—(in the sense of 'little') : kamza:n 'a little acquainted person'

**bar**—(in the sense of 'on') : barz'av 'on the tip of the tongue'

Kashmiri prefix+Persian stem :

**aᴅ** (in the sense of 'half') : aᴅse:r 'half a seer' (a measure of weight)'

Kashmiri stem+Persian suffix :

—**da:r** (in the sense of 'with') : ləᴛ'da:r 'with tail', chiᴛida:r 'with prints'

Persian stem+Kashmiri suffix :

—**an** (locative case marker) : saha:ran 'in the early morning', sha:man 'in the evening'

—**as** (dative case marker used with m.s. subjects) : marɨdas 'to the male', əmi:ras 'to the rich'

—**i** (dative case marker used with feminine subject) : kita:bi 'to a book',

—**an** (agentive case marker used with m.s. subjects) : gəri:ban 'the poorman'

—**vo:l** (in the sense of 'the person who owns') : duka:nɨvo:l 'the owner of a shop', kita:bɨvo:l 'the owner of books'

—**pət'** (indicates particular 'tim e') : sha:mɨpət' 'in the evening'

—**tal** (in the sense of 'under') : nazarital 'under the sight'

—**gor** (indicates 'occupation') : nakshigor 'one who makes maps'

Persian provides model for deriving some grammatical fo rms in Kashmiri. Nouns of agency are formed at the Persian model by adding the suffixes —**gor** and —**ci:**. e g.,

g'avangor 'one who sings', gindangor 'one who plays', nats-

angor 'one who dances', tabalci: 'one who plays on tabla', ə:phi:mci : 'one who is addicted to opium'

Suffix—**gi** is used to form abstract nouns. e.g.,

ga:nɨgi: 'the act of procurer', badmashɨgi: 'the act of a rogue'

Suffixes—**ba:z**, —**mand** and —**za:dɨ** are used in forming modifiers from nouns. e.g.,

do:khɨba:z 'deceitful', ca:lda:z 'crafty', phə:ydɨmand 'useful' akɨlmand 'wise', do:latmand 'rich, darza:dɨ 'an offspring of Darś'.

Abstract nouns are formed from nouns of agency by adding **i:**. e.g.,

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ma:sTar | 'teacher' | ma:sTəri: | 'teachership' |
| aphsar | 'officer' | aphsari: | 'officership' |
| Da:kTar | 'doctor' | Da:kTəri: | 'medical practice' |
| ci:n | 'China' | ci:ni: | 'Chinese' |

### 9.2.5. *Compounding*

There are many examples of compounds formed by the combination of Persian and Kashmiri words.

**a. Kashmiri+Persian word compounds :**

| Compound | Kashmiri | Persian |
|---|---|---|
| tsok a:tash 'sour' | tsok 'sour' | a:tash 'fire'. |
| modur kand 'sweet' | modur 'sweet | kand 'a kind of sweet' |
| darɨm i:ma:n 'faith, creed' | darɨm 'rɨligion' | i:ma:n 'faith' |
| sonɨ marag 'name of a place' | son 'gold' | marag 'meadow' |
| kruhun siya:h 'black' | kruhun 'black' | siya:h 'black' |
| kə:m ka:r 'work' | kə:m 'work' | ka:r 'work' |
| ri:th riva:j 'rites and ceremonies' | ri:th 'rites' | riva:j 'ceremony' |

b. Persian + Kashmiri word compounds

| Compound | Persian | Kashmiri |
|---|---|---|
| bakhiti boD 'very fortunate' | bakht 'luck | boD 'big' |
| di:n darim 'faith and creed' | di:n 'raligion' faith' | darim 'religion 'faith' |
| saphe:d shi:n 'white like snow' | saphe:d 'white' | shi:n 'snow' |
| mo:m bət' 'a candle' | mo:m 'vax' | bət' 'a lamp' |

### 9.3. Lexical Transfer

A large number of lexical items of Persian are transferred to Kashmiri and are used in the same sense as they are used in Persian. A partial list of such lexical items is given below :

ada: 'grace,' adab 'literature', amba:r 'store', asli, 'real' andar 'inside' aya:sh luxurious', aiya:l 'family', agar 'if', anja:m 'result', a:ga:h 'acquainted' a:b 'water, a:sma:n 'sky', a:va:z 'sound' kaba:b 'roast meat' kam 'little', ka:r 'work' kamar 'waist', gaz 'a yard', gardan 'neck', gard 'dust' ca:plu:s 'flatterer', ja:n 'good', ja:nvar 'animal, java:n 'young' java:b 'reply', jaha:n 'world', jang 'quarrel', zarar 'harm', zami n 'land' zi:n 'saddle', tan 'body', tang 'tight', taba:h 'spoil', tama:m 'all', tasvi:r 'picture'. dam 'breath', dasti: 'by hand', dala:l 'a broker', da:sta:n 'story', da:na: 'a wise person', da:man 'foot (of a mountain)' dil 'heart', di:da:r 'sight', dila:var 'brave', dushman 'enemy', du:r 'far', du:rbi:n 'a telescope', nazar 'sight', nar 'male, na:ci:z 'worthless', na:da:n 'ignorant', na:pasand 'displeasing', na bu:d 'annihilated' na:bka:r 'useless', na:sa:z 'discordant', ni:m 'half', nu:r 'light' payvand 'grafting', pana:h 'shelter', palang 'a bed', pahalva:n 'wrestler', po:sha:k 'dress', bad 'bad', baha:r 'spring', ba:da:m almonds', ba:m 'roof', ba:r 'weight' ba:var 'believe', bisya:r 'many', magar 'but', majlis 'meeting', malmal 'fine cotton', ma:yu:s 'sad', ma:l 'wealth', meharba:n

'kind', me:z 'a table', ya:d 'memory', ya:r 'friend', rag 'vein', rang 'colour', rahbar 'a guide' ra:y 'judgement', 'idea', ra:n 'thigh', lashkar 'army', la:sh 'a dead body', varam 'swelling', vasi:h 'broad', vosu:l 'to receive', shab 'night', shabnam 'dew', shara:b 'liquor', sha:n 'glory', sha:m 'evening', sha:yad 'perhaps', sabab 'reason', sabzi: 'greenry', sarhad 'boundary', sava:b 'good deed', siya:h 'black' si:ma:b 'quick silver', hayva:n 'animal', had 'limit', hama:m 'bath' hamva:r 'level', hal 'solution', havas 'desire', hasad 'jealousy' etc.

## 9.4. Semantic changes

A number of Persian borrowed lexical items in Kashmiri are semantically different in their use. In general, changes of meaning are of three types : expansion, contraction and totally different. For example :

| Persian | Gloss | Kashmiri | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| alma:s | diamond | alma:s | sharp |
| a:shna:i: | acquaintance | ə:shnə:yi: | relation |
| kahva : | coffee | kəhvɨ | kashmiri tea |
| xala:s | free | khala:s | sorry, free |
| ga:v | ox, cow | ga:v | cow |
| zar | gold | zar | money |
| zang | belt, rust | zang | leg, rust |
| zabar | above, a vowel sign | zabar | right, good |
| za:r | weeping, groan | za:r | gambling |
| tar | wet, moist | tar | bud |
| ta:b | heat | ta:b | patience |
| da:s | sickle | da:s | threshold |
| dali:l | arguement, reason | dali:l | matter, story |
| da:d | justice | da:d | request |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| da:m | snare, trap | da:m | sip |
| darba:r | court | darba:r | office |
| na:saza: | improper | na:saza: | abuses |
| nam | dew moisture, | nam | a nail |
| dargah | court | dargah | shrine |
| partau | ray, light | partav | influence, |
| ma:h | month, moon | ma:h | a kiss |
| rasad | troop | rasad | ration |
| lab | lip, edge | lab | a wall |
| sar | head, top | sar | a pond |
| sangi:n | heavy | sangi:n | strong |
| sa:n | military prade | sa:n | with. |
| su:d | profit, benefit | su:d | interest |
| asba:b | causes | asba:b | goods |
| a:m | well known | a:m | common |
| bandgi: | slavery | bandgi: | worship |
| buxa:r | steam | bukha:r | fever |
| daftar | book, file | daphtar | office |
| dariya: | sea | dəriya:v | river |
| haja:mat | scarification | haja:math | hair-cutting |
| haki:m | philosopher | haki:m | physician |
| i:ma:nda:r | faithful | yi:ma:nda:r | honest |
| jalu:s | sitting | jalu:s | procession |
| ka:nu:ngo | lawyer | ka:nu:ngo: | a revenue official |
| xasam | enemy | khasam | husband |
| lifa:fa: | wrapper | lipha:phɨ | envelope |
| naql | change | nakɨl | copy |
| pa:band | foot tied | pa:band | punctual |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| rasu:x | firmness | rasu:kh | influence |
| sa:fa: | filtering cloth | sa:phɨ | turban |
| silsila: | chain | silsilɨ | connection |
| sirf | pure | siriph | only |
| tafsi:l | distance | taphsi:l | details, list |
| tarki:b | mixture | tarki:b | method |
| vaki:l | agent | vaki:l | lawyer |
| zabt | control | zabɨt | confiscation |
| zulm | darkness | zulɨm | cruelty |

## 9.4. Registers

Three main types of registers of Persianized Kashmiri have developed : 1. Register of Religion, 2. Register of Law and 3. Register of Business. These registers are highly influenced by the borrowing of a number of lexical items from Persian.

### 9.4.1. *Register of Religion*

A number of lexical items borrowed from the Persian language are used in the religious register of Muslims.

Examples :

kabar (qabr), 'a grave', kɔrba:n (qorba:n) 'sacrifice', k'obul (qibla:) 'facing towards Mecca', khɔda:h (xuda:) 'God', gɔna:h (gunah) 'sin', janath (janat) 'paradize', z'a:rath (ziya:rat) 'visit to a holy place', tə:ziyath (ta:ziyat) 'to visit a bereaved family', tə:vi:z (ta:vi:z) 'an amulet', to:bu:d (ta:bu:d) 'coffin', tasbih 'beads used for saying prayers' yima:m (ima:m) 'leader in prayers', yi:ma:n (ima:n) 'faith', di:n 'religion', duva:h (dua:) 'prayer', dasgi:r 'a holy man', darga:h (dargah) 'shrine', do:zukh (do:zax) 'hell', naja:th (naja:t) 'liberation', n'ama:z (nima:z) 'prayers', niya:z 'holy offerings' nabi: 'a prophet', nika:h 'marriage', pa:kh(pa:k) 'pure, holy' phərishtɨ (farishta:) 'angel', parvardiga:r 'God',

paigambar (paiɢambar) 'prophet', pi:r 'a saint' bihishth (bihisht) 'paradise', mazhab 'religion', masjid 'mosque' raham 'pity', ro:zi (ro:za:) 'fast' rəsu:l (rasu:l) 'prophet', rab 'God', vozu: 'ablution', shara:h (shara:) 'religious law' sɔnath (sunnat) 'circumcision', hazrath (hazrat) 'prophet' haj 'pilgrimage to Mecca',

9.4 2 *Register of law*

The following Persian borrowed lexical items in the register of law are frequently used in judicial contexts :

adà:vat 'enmity', ada:lath (ada:lat) 'court', arzi:nəvi:s (arzi:navi:s)'a petition writer' agvah (aɢva:) 'kidnap', khə:rij (xa:rij) 'dismissed' gavah 'witness', girav (girvi:) 'mortgage', jarah 'discussion', java:b da:va: 'reply of suit', təhsi:l 'a sub division' jurma:ni (jurma:na:) 'penalty', zama:nath (zama: nat) 'bail', tə:ri:kh (ta:ri:x) 'date of hearing', ta:mi:l 'service of warrant', tasphi: (tasfiya:) 'compromise', tasdi:kh (tasdi:q) 'attestation', daphah (dafa:) 'section', da:va: 'law suit', dasta:ve:z 'document', nə:yib (na:yib) 'an official' pi:shi: (pe:shi:) 'hearing', pe:shka:r 'a court clerk', phara:r 'absconder', phə:sli (fa:sla:) 'judgement', baha:l (baha:li:) 'reinstatement' mudəyi 'applant', bara:mad 'found', bari: 'acquitted', bana:m 'versus', baya:n 'statement' ba:lig (ba:liɢ) 'adult', yinsa:ph (insa:f) 'justice', yikra:rna:mi (yikra:rna:ma:) 'bond', muda:l 'defender', mansu:kh(manso:x) 'cancelled', mulzim 'accused', ma:vzi 'compensation', manzu:r 'acceptance', misal 'file', yishʀa:m pharo:sh 'court stamp vender' yijla:s 'meeting', yistiga:s 'suit', sura:g 'clue', vaki:l 'a lawyer', sabu:t 'proof', vaka:lath (vaka:lat) 'law profession', shaha: dath (shaha:dat) 'evidence' vaka:lathna:mi (vaka:latna:ma:) 'a legal statement', rishvath (rishvat) 'bribe', rasi:d 'receipt', və:ris (va:ris) 'legal heir', sharat 'condition', vəzi:r 'a minister', 'vaza:rath (vaza:rat) 'ministry', hira:sath (hira:sath) 'custody', hukum 'order', hakh (haq) 'right', ha:ziri:

'presence', harja:nɨ (harja:na:) 'compensation' giriphta:r (girfta:r) 'arrest'.

### 9.4.3. *Register of Business*

The following lexical items borrowed from Persian are used in the register of business :

karzɨ (qarza:) 'debt', kipha:yath (kifa:yat) 'reduction', kira:yɨ (kira:ya:) 'rent', kirya:nɨ (kirya:na:) 'grocery', to:lɨ (tola:) 'a measurement of weight' tija:rath (tija:rat) 'trade' takhsi:m (taqsi:m) 'division', tho:k 'wholesale' darjan 'a dozen', na:p 'measurement', nɔkhsa:n (nuqsa:n) 'loss', pa:v 'a measurement', payma:nɨ (payma:na:) 'a measuring pot', phə:ydɨ (pha:yda:) 'profit' bara:t 'a bill of exchange', ma:shɨ (ma:sha:) 'a measurement', hə:sil (ha:sil) 'balance obtained', guma:shtɨ (guma:shta::) 'agent', andra:j 'entry', rasi:d 'receipt', ro:zna:mcɨ (ro:zna:mca:) 'daily account book', sastɨ (sasta:) 'cheap' se:r 'a measurement', su:d 'interest'.

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## Errata

| *Page* | *Line* | *Incorrect* | *Correct* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | 20 | hɔs | kɔs |
| 16 | 13 | eɴ | keɴh |
| | 21,23 | co-occurence | co-occurrence |
| 18 | 9 | ləkuᴛ | lɔkuᴛ |
| 25 | 8 | lədɨr | ledɨr |
| 34 | 17 | Eampls | Examples |
| 35 | 16 | shielɨ | shi:lɨ |
| 36 | 14 | sffix | suffix |
| 39 | 22 | lɔkɨᴛ | lɔkɨᴛ' |
| 41 | 1 | wit | with |
| 48 | 13 | sype | type |
| | 26 | *2nd causat* | *2nd causal* |
| 49 | 11 | sh:lan | shi:lan |
| | 11, 12, 20 | Shiea | Shiela |
| | 12 | shɨ:l | shi:lɨ |
| | 13 | chalɨnə:v | chalɨnə:v' |
| | 23 | 8 | to be deleted |
| | 25-28 | 9,10,11,12 | 8,9,10,11 |
| | 30 | emedded | embedded |
| 50 | 9 | vachuth | vuchuth |
| 51 | 19 | o:sm' | o:snɨ |
| | 20 | phikrɨ | phikri |
| 52 | 12 | pat:a | pata: |
| | 18 | Gomplement | Complement |
| | 19 | teneless | tenseless |

| *Page* | *Line* | *Incorrect* | *Correct* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | 28 | pronun | pronoun |
| 55 | 9 | tee | tse |
| | 23 | Thc | The |
| | 27 | followcd | followed |
| | 33 | shr | shur |
| 56 | 24 | k':a:zi | k'a:zi |
| 58 | 12 | strueture | structure |
| 60 | 15 | Par | par |
| 61 | 10 | early | easily |
| 62 | 1 | possible | possible derivations |
| 64 | 17 | Svnita | Sunita |
| | 30 | gu:l' | gu:l› t*i* |
| 70 | 9 | vus | yus |
| 71 | 12 | temis | təmis |
| 72 | 3 | təm› | *təm' |
| 73 | 14 | naration | narration |
| 76 | 9 | /p/ and /ph/ | to be deleted |
| 76 | 26 | voтh | v›oтh |
| 80 | 12 | suffixes | prefixes |
| 83 | 1 | prefixes | prefix |
| 85 | 1 | anihi:r' | an*i*h*i*:r› |
| | 23 | women | woman |